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Near East & South Asia

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ALGERIA

Consequences of Government Counteroffensive on FIS

94AF0251A Paris JEUNE AFRIQUE in French
4-10 Aug 94 pp 30-33

[Article by Paul-Marie de la Gorce: "Algeria: Maneuvrings in the Underground"—first paragraph is JEUNE AFRIQUE introduction]

[Text] The regime's counteroffensive has forced Islamist guerrilla groups to alter their strategies. The objective: to impose themselves as unavoidable participants in future political negotiations...

In the shadows of clandestinity and the insurgent underground, a general reorganization is taking place among Algeria's various armed Islamist groups. It is more than a regrouping of secret organizations or a new system of alliances between the clandestine chiefs. Above all, it is a consequence of the counteroffensive launched by the government and army in early April after Ramadan. The counteroffensive has reclaimed a number of sizable localities where security forces previously had been cantoned in barracks or police stations, unable or unwilling to venture forth. It was responsible for significant if not spectacular reductions in terrorist attacks in the large cities between April and July, and appeared to sharply curtail the advance of armed Islamism, which had reached disturbing proportions, culminating during the last week of Ramadan in the audacious raid on Tazult prison, a serious challenge to the authority of the state.

The counteroffensive has brought armed Islamists to a dual impasse, military and political. First of all, military: The most active elements have been forced to leave Algeria's largest cities. For the most part, these were militants of the GIAs [Armed Islamic Groups], which as we know were formed in wake of the two big waves of arrests that decapitated the clandestine apparatus of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front]. Under the shock of more effective repressive measures, the GIAs have been forced to retreat to the interior, and even if most of their men escaped arrest or death, they have lost the opportunity to carry out spectacular attacks in the big cities. And political impasse: The government and army counteroffensive showed that armed Islamism could not take power by force. Whereas in early spring most Western observers had been speculating on the forthcoming victory of the Islamists, the path of victory by arms alone was now barred to them. At the same time, the path of compromise and negotiation also seemed blocked. Lamine Zeroual tried to show Algerians—first by going to Blida prison to meet with Abbassi Madani and Ali Benhadj, then by stating publicly they had broken their promise to end violence—that no compromise was possible with the former FIS leaders, since either they no longer represented anyone or they were in alliance with the clandestine chiefs of armed Islamism.

This dual impasse, political and military, has led to a full-scale reorganization of forces in the Islamist camp. Four months ago, the latter was divided into two dominant currents: the MIA (Armed Islamist Movement)—the armed branch of the FIS, clandestine, virtually eliminated from the large cities in the first waves of arrests, and preponderant in several regions of the interior—and the GIAs—established in the cities until the government counteroffensive, resorting to violence more and more boldly and indiscriminately, recruiting unemployed youths in the cities and suburbs wherever possible, but prey to constant internal rivalries and loath to federate into a single national organization.

The MIA suddenly found itself faced with a daunting challenge: the arrival of the GIAs, descending on the interior and rural areas after being forced to abandon the cities and suburbs to the army. The growing rivalry threatened to be fatal for the reputedly more "moderate" MIA, most of whose chiefs had far less punch and combativeness than their GIA counterparts. In the end, a radical decision was reached: to establish a new organization, which would try to federate as many clandestine groups as possible.

AIS Emirs

The order came out of Blida prison, where Abbassi Madani and Ali Benhadj had decided to endow the clandestine FIS with an armed organization that would give it the necessary weight in future political negotiations.

Such was the origin of the AIS, Islamic Salvation Army, whose name was chosen specifically to underline its linkage to the FIS. What's most important is that this move led to protracted and complicated bargaining that ended in agreement in the east and west, i.e., in the Constantine and Oran regions, but not in the capital region. Two "emirs," two regional chiefs of armed Islamism, adhered to the AIS: in the east, Cheikh Madani Merzak, also known as Abou el-Haithem; in the west, Cheikh Ahmed Ben Aicha, alias Abou Salah. A longtime militant in the armed Islamic movement, Chebouti—"General" Chebouti, as he is most often called—was named national leader of the AIS, though there are reasons to suspect his authority is more symbolic than real. All indications are both "emirs" will maintain their autonomy. They both signed—but were alone in signing—a document, issued under the name of the "unified national directorate," which is as much political manifesto as declaration of adherence to the AIS. In this document, the two affirm that the combatants should persevere with the war "on the ground," that the military and political domains must remain distinct, and that supreme authority rests with the FIS itself, in other words, in practical terms, with the two prisoners of Blida. The public manifesto was, it would seem, premature. Only with the adherence of an "emir" representing the Algiers region would such an announcement effectively underscore the national scope of the new organization. But the efforts of the FIS clandestine directorate

bogged down in this respect and have not yet come to fruition. Ultimately, it doesn't matter much: The objective was to endow the FIS with an "armed branch" to make up for the weakness and disappointing performance of the MIA. That objective was attained. Abbassi Madani and Ali Benhadj now have at their disposal an armed organization that will confer on them the credibility and authority they obviously lacked at the time of their "secret" talks with Liamine Zeroual. And that is really the political significance of the AIS: creation of "bargaining leverage" for future negotiations with the regime.

All this presented the GIAs with a critical challenge. The government counteroffensive had shown that the GIAs could not intensify their activity beyond the level already reached, and were thus doomed to decline. In practice, the GIAs were obliged to retreat to the interior, and weeks passed before they had reestablished the geographical and popular bases needed to subsist. Then they had to prove they still existed. And in fact they did demonstrate the capacity to unleash a new wave of terrorist attacks.

This was accomplished in the first half of July. Italian sailors, Ukrainian technicians, specialists of all nationalities were the victims. The military and political efficacy of these assassinations was problematic, to say the least. But the initial objective was attained: The GIAs proved they had not disappeared after withdrawing from the big cities, and were still able to strike.

Ambassadors Kidnapped

Then came the affair of the abduction of the two ambassadors, Omani Ambassador Hilal al-Siyabi, and Yemeni Ambassador Qacem Askar Jebrane. They were released after eight days in the hills above Algiers, where their captors courteously put a car at their disposal for them to return to their residence.

We know too that they brought back a message that could be summed up as follows: "The armed groups are ready to stop the campaign of assassinating foreigners if the regime releases Abdelhak Layada"—the latter having been one of the historic leaders of the GIAs. What did this new episode mean, and how important was it?

In no way was it some sort of plot emanating mysteriously from the regime itself, as many Algerians—who love mysteries and hate to be duped—are fond of speculating almost anytime anything happens. The government saw the affair as a powerful challenge to its authority and tried to respond as discreetly as possible. Moreover, it apparently would have preferred, as in the earlier abduction of employees of the French consulate, that the message entrusted to the two ambassadors not be made public. However, that proved impossible, as before, since the GIAs were prepared if necessary to disclose the message themselves.

Neither was it a mistake. There is absolutely no doubt the two ambassadors were really and truly the intended targets.

General Nezzar

The kidnappings came on the heels of a wave of assassinations of foreigners. A ruthless logic links the murders committed previously, the abduction of the two diplomats, and the message they were charged to deliver.

The objective was also revealing. Abdelhak Layada is not only one of the founders of the GIAs: He was also one of the most active and prestigious leaders. His escape to Morocco won him a reputation as a man whom the Algerian authorities could not capture; and his reception in Morocco led people to believe the armed Islamists in Algeria had more external support than previously believed, though in fact he was in the hands of the police. Algiers, at all events, took the incident seriously enough to send General Nezzar, then-minister of defense, to call personally on the Moroccan king to ask that Layada be extradited. On 15 June, he was sentenced to death. Today he is still considered the most symbolically important of the GIAs' historic leaders. And at a time when the GIAs, driven from the cities, find it virtually impossible to unite in a single nationwide organization, he was thought to be the only leader able to bring them all together. In the midst of ferment among the clandestine groups, the government is standing fast. The resurgence of terrorist attacks undoubtedly has shaken its authority and led people to conclude that order in Algeria is far from being restored. It has also fueled rumors and whispering campaigns blaming the resurgence on the men named by Liamine Zeroual to head the police and gendarmerie. One hears occasional laments that a government of technocrats has replaced the political team formerly headed by Reda Malek. But all this remains pure speculation. In fact, the Algerian regime has not changed course one iota.

Hattab Abdelkader Killed by 'Mekloufi' Group

94AF0252C Algiers EL WATAN in French 1 Aug 94
pp 1, 2

[Article by Moulay Abderrahmane: "Hattab Abdelkader Killed by Said Mekloufi Group"—first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] The security force's announcement yesterday of the death of the last of the Hattabs comes as a harsh new blow to the GIA [Armed Islamic Groups] which he and Mansouri Miliani had cofounded. More important, it confirms that the wave of attacks and counterattacks triggered by the 13 May communique is far from spent.

When he signed a communique saying all the political and military forces working to create an Islamic republic in Algeria had joined the GIA and sworn allegiance to it, Gousmi Cherif probably had no idea what violent reactions it would provoke. It will be recalled that Baa Azzedine, Chebouti's successor and current leader of the AIS [Islamic Army of Salvation], was stirred to wrath by word being passed that Abassi and Benhadj had recognized Gousmi's authority over all the armed groups.

Baa vowed to wash away the stigma of this "imposture" in the blood of 20 GIA fighting men. The rivalry, hitherto verbal, between the emirs vying for leadership of the armed groups at the national level, escalated toward a violent showdown. Imams close to the Salafist current, the principal provider of men and "fatwa" [a religious legal opinion] for the GIA, were captured and slaughtered the week after Baa's threat.

But the AIS was not satisfied and felt it necessary to strike the GIA in the most dramatic possible way—by targeting the Hattab group. After the skirmish last February where Toufik, the youngest though also one of the most dangerous members of the clan, was killed, the group's survivors had split into two bands.

Abdelkader and nine of his most loyal followers retired from the field, while the second band, headed by his brother and two of his cousins, continued to terrorize the Bordj El Bahri region. Though the AIS could not get to them in their eastern Algiers stronghold, the latter group were nevertheless mysteriously "neutralized." Security forces converged on a villa and decimated the group.

Observers thought the AIS had convincingly followed through on its tough talk and the gang war was over, especially since the AIS newsletter "El Feth el Moubine" was now systematically pitching woo to Gousmi and ever so delicately affirming that the assassination of foreigners was contrary to the interests of the jihad. But appearances were deceiving.

On 25 July, a terrorist by the name of Bensalem Djamel fell into the hands of the authorities. From his confessions they learned that the last group of the Hattab clan was liquidated by elements loyal to Said Mekloufi.

Mekloufi, widely known as author of a tract on "civil disobedience," is a highly controversial figure in radical Islamist circles.

A former army officer, he has never really overcome suspicions harbored about him because of his past, even though he was Abassi's "man Friday" when Abassi was in his heyday and served for a long time as chief editor of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] newspaper.

Viewed by turns as a double agent or "versatile militant," he has always been distrusted. For a long time, in fact, he was blamed for the death of Djaafar El Afghani, and it took posters on the walls of the mosques to void once and for all the contract on his life.

But why would Said Mekloufi have executed Hattab Abdelkader? Several plausible reasons have been advanced. The first explanation of the jebel Bouzegza massacre (Hattab was killed along with all the elements in his group, including his wife) that suggests itself is that Said Mekloufi was determined to disassociate himself from the Gousmi faction, which had appended his name as a signatory of the 13 May communique, while at the same time proving his allegiance to the AIS, which had just been endorsed by Ali Benhadj from prison.

A second hypothesis that might provide a motive for Mekloufi has to do with EL WATAN's report of the dismantling of an arms trafficking ring. The terrorist informed police that an important shipment of arms bought by Said Mekloufi and destined for his guerrillas in Kabylia had been stolen by the GIA. Could the arms have been stolen by the Hattab clan, an act which the former editor in chief of EL MOUNQIDH could never forgive?

The third explanation is that it was simply a matter of protecting turf. Everyone knows the Hattab fiefdom was limited to the eastern suburbs of Algiers between Derhana and Benzerga, from El Harrach to Ain Taya. Since the buffer zone between Algiers and Kabylia was Said Mekloufi's territory of choice, he might have been unable to tolerate the presence of Hattab and his group in the environs of Draa Ben Khedda, and was therefore driven to eliminate a dangerous rival.

The final possible explanation relates to something that happened several months ago in Deliys. An important meeting scheduled to bring together all the top leaders of armed groups was aborted when security forces surrounded the cave where the meeting was being held.

Authorities could not have acted unless someone had tipped them off. Everyone at once agreed the "mole" must be Mekloufi; Hattab may have been among those responsible for spreading this persistent rumor. By this theory, Mekloufi took this slanderous talk as an unforgivable crime.

Whatever the reasons and motive, Hattab's death means there is one less assassin at large in Algeria tonight.

Hattab Brother Killed; Background on Group

94AF0252B Algiers LIBERTE in French 1 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by Brahim Ahmed: "Hattab Abdelkader Killed"—first paragraph is LIBERTE introduction]

[Text] One of the leaders of the GIA [Armed Islamic Groups], Hattab Abdelkader alias "Mouloud," and 10 members of his band were killed by the group headed by Said Mekloufi alias "Zakaria."

A captured terrorist, Bensalem Djamel, arrested on 25 July in the wilaya of Boumerdes, told authorities the bodies of 11 members of the Hattab group, including the leader's wife, were buried in a cave near Jebel Bouzegza (wilaya of Boumerdes), according to the security services. The bodies were found where Djamel Bensalem said they would be, according to the same sources.

Hattab Abdelkader, no profession listed, born on 2 July 1947 at Bordj El-Kiffane, was implicated in several assassinations, including those of Kasdi Merbah, president of the MAJD [Algerian Movement for Justice and Development], and Mustapha Abada, former director of ENTV. Two members of the group, Hattab Zoheir and

Hattab Hacene, cousins of Hattab Abdelkader, were killed last May in Herraga locality, commune of Benzerga (Boumerdes wilaya).

Another member of the family and group, Toufik Hattab, was killed on 23 February 1994 in Benzerga (Boumerdes wilaya) during an attack against a security patrol.

The most well-known of the Hattab trio was doubtless Abdelkader, alias "Mouloud," who was also the oldest. He was born in 1947.

He had very close ties to Abassi Madani back when the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] was a legal political movement. Without a profession of his own, he followed his spiritual master wherever the latter went. Long before party pluralism, Abdelkader Hattab had joined a terrorist group, "Tekfir oua El-Hidjra." Little by little he won the respect of its leaders, who gave him more and more responsibility. Eventually, owing to his dedication to the fundamentalist cause, he was welcomed into the exclusive circle of Abassi Madani's confidants. After the interruption of the electoral process, Hattab Abdelkader, knowing the authorities were after him, became a fugitive.

The first thing he did was join the group led by Allem Abdenour alias "Nouh." He participated in the theft of explosives from Sonarem in Jijel. Even if he was not directly mixed up in the attack on the Bologhine bar that cost the life of Mecili and Si Larbi, he certainly must have approved that punitive raid.

After the arrest of emir Nouh and his entire group, the oldest of the Hattabs decided to create his own organization. For that purpose, he enlisted the help of his two brothers, Hacene and Tewfik, for he was a man of suspicious nature.

In addition to his two young brothers, "emir" Hattab recruited two trusted friends, Tazrout Said and Aissani Abdelkader. The group quickly made a name for Hattab.

It should be noted that all the members of the group were dedicated fundamentalists who had been educated, during their few years at school, by a select group of teachers. Moreover, during the 1980's, there was no shortage of pseudo-imams to provide advanced training and "refresher courses." At the trial of emir Nouh's group, Abdelkader Hattab's name came up again and again. The Special Court of Algiers sentenced him [in absentia] to death. No sooner was the terrorist group established than it went into action. He was both the "brains" of the group and a participant with the others in its deadly operations. But what brought him most notoriety was the assassination of former prime minister Kasdi Merbah, his brother, his son, and two of his bodyguards.

Earlier, Hattab had personally taken charge of the execution of several contracts, including one that cost the life of a policeman, Isselman Brahim.

Everyone in the group, including Hattab himself, had more than one assassination under his belt. After the murder of Kasdi Merbah, Abdelkader Hattab was identified by eyewitnesses as the assassin of Mustapha Abada, in a crime perpetrated just a few meters from the exact spot where the former prime minister had been executed earlier. Toufik, the youngest of the Hattabs, was killed in February 1994 in Benzerga by a gendarmerie patrol. The other members of the group are all actively being sought and have been identified as the authors of several assassinations and acts of sabotage. The special court has issued arrest warrants for all of them.

AIS Unity; Tourabi Predicts FIS Victory

94AF0247A Paris *LE MONDE* in French 4 Aug 94 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Algeria: Secession in FIS (Islamic Salvation Front) Ranks Abroad"]

[Text] In a communique published on Tuesday 2 August, the executive body of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] abroad, which Rabah Kebir chairs from Germany, "announced the secession of two of the 12 members that constituted it, brothers Anouar Haddam and Ahmad el Zaoui, who chose to work outside the FIS. Consequently, any statements made by these two brothers no longer represent the FIS's official position."

Mr. Haddam, who lives in the United States, is the leader of the FIS parliamentary delegation and, as such, he has issued many press releases from Washington. He maintained rather steady relations with the U.S. State Department, where some officials see him rather as a moderate element of the Islamic movement. Like Mr. Kebir, he recently denounced the murder of foreigners in Algeria. Nevertheless, he seems to have recently rejoined extremists of the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) such as Mohamed Said, head of the FIS interim executive committee.

The executive body, which claims to be "the only legitimate and official representative of the FIS abroad," "is delighted by the measures taken to unite the mujahedin within the framework of the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), which were announced in the joint communique published by the west and east regions, pending the agreement of the central region"—the region of Algiers. In its Tuesday issue, the Saudi daily *EL HAYAT* recalled in this respect that the AIS is represented in the east region by "emir" sheik Madani Mirzaq, and in the west region by "emir" sheik Ahmad Ben Aicha. On the other hand, the central region is controlled by the GIA, headed by Ahmed Abou Abdallah (*LE MONDE*, 24 and 25 July). The communique states the conviction "that uniting the mujahedin ranks (...) is the most effective means to achieve the objective of (setting up) an Islamic State in Algeria."

Encounters Between Villagers and Maquis

Last week, the inhabitants of Igoudjal, a village in Kabylia, fought back an armed Islamic group who had

come to take away their hunting rifles, the daily LE MATIN reported on Tuesday. Warned that the armed group were coming in two vehicles, the villagers lay in ambush along the road and opened fire when the group approached. After the encounter, which lasted two hours, the maquis fled, leaving behind one dead and three seriously wounded.

On several occasions, armed Islamist groups have attacked small towns, looking for hunting rifles or supplies. On 25 July, the people of Keddara, in the Algiers area, attempted to resist maquis who were about to plunder a grocery store. Fifteen villagers were wounded.

For his part, the Sunni Islamist leader Hassan Tourabi stated in an interview published on Tuesday in the Spanish daily EL PAIS, that "Islamism will sweep North Africa" and that Islamization means the liberation of societies that were subject to Western colonization." Analyzing the situation in Algeria, Mr. Tourabi predicted that the FIS would soon come to power there. "Europe should know that the more revolutionary the FIS triumph is, the more dangerous it will be for Europe," he added, "because a revolution is unpredictable and knows no borders." In his opinion, "the best Europe can do, is to facilitate the transfer of power to the FIS."

Increased Theft of ID Cards Noted

94AF0243A Algiers EL WATAN in French 23 Jul 94
p 3

[Article: "Mitidja: 'Collectors' of a Special Kind"]

[Text] According to information from several sources, the terrorist groups have launched a vast campaign this week to "collect" citizen identity cards in the Blida and Boufarik regions.

These very special "collectors" have surfaced, according to reports, in cafes and other public places and blithely "relieved" citizens of their ID cards, drivers' licenses, and other civil documents in a veritable sweep! The campaign netted the terrorists so much "booty" that large bags were required to carry it all away. It's clear this region has become the venue of choice for testing all the strategies the terrorist groups have started implementing in recent months. We recall, for instance, the rumor of a curfew being established after 1600, a rumor which triggered mass hysteria, turning Blida into a ghost town in a matter of days.

The threats of reprisals against women not wearing the "hidja" [traditional Muslim head scarf] also got their start in this region, before spreading to many other parts of the country.

The question raised by this new tactic of confiscating ID cards is, what use will be made of the documents being collected? We can hazard a guess as to the objectives of the operation. In order to move about freely, the groups

of terrorist fugitives need falsified identification papers. Until now, they had to make do with documents captured from their victims.

ID cards of assassinated policemen have been found at domiciles of slain and arrested terrorists. But why such a large-scale operation? The theory that these false papers are destined for the armed groups is not to be discounted. The volume of documents "seized" might lead one to believe there is great demand. But could this also be an act of psychological warfare? The second hypothesis is that such an operation could be justified, in the minds of its architects, by the fact that the more undocumented citizens there are, the more easily will terrorist groups be able to blend in with the masses of peaceful citizens whose documents are stolen in this operation, thus allowing the terrorists themselves to attract less suspicion. The upshot is, there is now a need to create a new identity card.

Especially, when one considers the large number of identity cards that were distributed fraudulently for the last elections.

Citizens 'Hand Over' ID Cards at Mosque

94AF0252D Algiers EL WATAN in French 1 Aug 94
p 2

[Unattributed article: "The ID Racket"]

[Text] Late July: A mosque in El Harrach. What is happening here is not unique. It goes on everywhere, constantly. After the final prayer of the day, the group of "brothers" wearing the obligatory "kamis" and heelless sandals, a basket in plain view at their feet, wait while the faithful file out to the street one by one or in small groups.

As soon as the faithful see the "brothers" and the basket, they understand. They already knew what was coming, thanks to the fantastic and effective word-of-mouth "grapevine" that still links the people of their residential quarter. They are simply "invited" to "consent" to dropping their identity cards, driver's licenses, occupational cards, and passports in the brothers' basket.

In theory, one can refuse; but that would mean exposing oneself, with no recourse or means of defense, to reprisal at the hands of the brothers' anonymous "enforcers," who do the dirty work of physical retaliation wherever and whenever so ordered.

For the most part, then, it is not a matter of armed terrorists in the mosques; nothing but an "ordinary" collection taking, similar in outward form to innumerable other solicitations on behalf of "Islamic solidarity." Though seen and understood by the whole congregation, it is a "consensual" shakedown, since no one harasses or "constrains" anyone....

But when a member of the congregation (the elderly father of the individual who reported this information to

us), after one of these mandatory "collections," went straight to the neighborhood police station to file a complaint of dispossession and theft of official registration documents, he brought a world of suffering and humiliation down on his head.... It is easy to imagine, in such a case, what scornful lectures and scoldings about his "cowardly act" and "strict responsibility" ("you should have just minded your own business") were thrown in his face—a face already well wrinkled by other cares—wherever he went.

Such incidents, when reported, only serve further to envenom the murderous propaganda of the "fools of God" against anyone who wears a uniform or is prepared to lend them the slightest assistance.... At the level of society as a whole, can anyone in good conscience blame the entire tragedy on the "flatfoots"? When it comes to the functioning and administration of such a basic state institution, it is obvious that the government itself must bear the responsibility.

Initial Results

This kind of incident being prime fodder for telling tales—to be repeated endlessly in the acute multiform crisis so violently racking all classes, categories, and groups in the population—what kind of symbolic "point" were they trying to make in forcing the populace to submit to this kind of extorsion, which we are forced to admit is of a totally new genre?

The "citizen" (if he ever felt he really was one) finds himself—an infinitesimally small atom, in a chaotic society under state of siege—virtually forced, by handing over his identity documents, to shoulder all at once the burden of being "undocumented," a potential suspect, subject to arrest at any moment, an outlaw, a fugitive, a miscreant....

This status—which he never imagined, sought, or wanted, and that descends on him so suddenly and unjustly—he is asked to "assume" in the name of the promised Paradise.... By his own act, he abandons the official records, the official recognition of his nationality, his voter status, his citizenship, and his juridical individuality.

He is forced to abandon all these social supports by an act of self-renunciation: self-annihilation in the modern social sense of the term, and destruction of the ordinary worldly values in this or any other society. It is "by his own act" that he jumps (or is thrown) into the anonymous magma of the crowd, the faceless masses, the nameless "umma" carried helplessly with the tide of unpredictable and disturbing events, whose inexplicable whys and wherefores only the self-proclaimed "shaykhs" can interpret...

In other localities, consenting believers and "cooperators" know their identity documents will soon be "restored" to them.

Most often in a plastic bag, mangled, dumped in a pile with hundreds of others, and left on the doorstep of daira headquarters, at El-Affroun for example, with this new wrinkle: They have been authenticated with the seal of the nationally and internationally dreaded Armed Islamic Group (GIA)... In other locales, Blida for example, two seals of the Holy Koran are affixed to the identity document above the stamped legend "dawla islamiya" [Islamic nation]

At least "the creature" has not had his race branded directly on the skin of his arm or face, as has happened under the darker skies of more archaic civilizations!

The catch is, once this indignity has been visited on the "citizen" he becomes willy-nilly a sort of half-breed: partly Algerian, to be sure, but one whose "Algerianness" has been "erased," altered, "corrected" by the (hidden) officials of an armed insurrectional movement that is antistate, anticonstitution, antidemocracy, and against all "foreign," "Western," and impious values—except of course for technical convenience, as embodied in such items as telephones, transceivers, cars, guns, explosives, hard currency, drugs, "hide-outs" in France, Germany, and America, etc., which do not embody alien "values," to the minds of the middle-aged feudalists who are the new pretenders and would-be usurpers of temporal power....

Moral

The "citizen," after nights of anguish and foreboding about all the illicit and criminal acts that may have been perpetrated under cover of his identity, finally gets back his "new" document, which certifies—via superposition of the antagonistic emblems printed on it—that he both is and is not! That he may or may not exist, depending on whether he finds himself in the presence of state authorities or the terrorists! In sum, that he is simultaneously one person, two...and scarcely anyone!

It is hard to imagine a more instructive illustration of the total antagonism between modernity and democracy on the one hand, and the society the Islamists want to impose at any cost on the other.

Such acts would be serious enough under any circumstances, in any civilized state on the planet. They are quite unacceptable when not softened by any effort at "dialogue," and would be stopped immediately.

In our society, ravaged by fundamentalist terrorism—assassinations all over the place, irrational destruction of public and private property, the shadiest sorts of racketeering and banditry, alienation of the minds of the young through the fundamentalists' extensive stranglehold on the public education system, climate of insecurity, and incessant terror directed against educated professionals, women, foreign aid-workers and businessmen, etc.—these acts take on an even more tragic symbolic dimension.

They signify that the fundamentalists have a wild thirst to take power, total power, by any means necessary (violently warlike, or so-called soft tactics), from a discredited and completely spent regime whose institutions are characterized by a total and irreversible breakdown of political and civic imagination.

These "diverse" and "scattered" acts, repeated constantly in so many far-flung and populous parts of the country, signify also, and most importantly, that the harshest of the disastrous consequences will be borne by ordinary citizens.

In plain words: Already they are hostages, but tomorrow they will be completely dispossessed of what little remained of their freedom and "herded" as slaves of the Islamic potentates of a fascist state founded on "divine right." Let no one, wherever their place of origin, whatever the mother-tongue in which they continue in desperation to express their prayers and hopes, be under any illusions.

Algiers Court: Layada Implicated in Other Cases

94AF0257E Algiers *EL MOUDJAHID* in French
3 Jul 94 p 4

[Article by Rym: "Algiers Special Court: A Ghost Named Layada"]

[Text] Sentenced to death by the Algiers special court last 15 June, Abdelhak Layada appeared again before that court in four other cases.

The first one involved Zikioui Abdelkader and Djadi Salah, charged with aiding, abetting, and failing to report a crime, and belonging to an armed group.

Zikioui Abdelkader, 24, was Layada's neighbor. Two of his brothers were killed in an engagement with police forces. They belonged to Layada's group, which was active in Baraki and included six other members, one of whom was Si Ahmed Mourad, also known as "Djaffar El-Afghani." Zikioui Abdelkader was charged with "belonging to this armed group and not reporting its activities."

Layada denied any relations with the defendants who, in turn, denied having ever met Layada.

The public prosecutor asked for a sentence of 20 years in prison for each of the two defendants, while their lawyers claimed that there was a procedural flaw and pleaded not guilty on behalf of their clients.

The second group with which Layada was also involved was that of Barra Abderrahmane, 32, a sports teacher in Bouzareah. This group, consisting of six members, was charged with forming an armed group, belonging to terrorist groups, possession of banned weapons, and voluntary manslaughter.

According to the remand order, Barra Abderrahmane belonged to the Oued Keriche cell created by Hameiras

Ibrahim in 1992, during the month of Ramadan. This cell would plan the assassinations of policemen. Barra's mission in the group was to receive and harbor terrorists coming back from Afghanistan.

The defendant attempted to flee to Morocco when he found that the police were tightening their net around him. He was arrested at the Moroccan border.

Barra denied all these facts in front of the special court and stated that he had talked under duress. His lawyers insisted much on the "application of pressure" in police stations, and claimed that there was no material evidence. They pleaded straight out not guilty on behalf of their client. The public prosecutor, for his part, required a 20-year sentence for Barra, and death for the accused who fled.

The third group consisted of Boutamine Samir, 34, professor at the Bouzareah university and member of the banned-FIS bureau, Lagoune Omar, a student and Layada's brother-in-law, and Sinia Sofiane. This group was charged with forming an armed group, not reporting a crime, and possession of banned weapons.

Boutamine Samir was charged with aiding and abetting Abdelhak Layada, and harboring him and his family in his Algiers apartment at the request of Sinia Sofiane, a long-time acquaintance.

Answering the questions of the special court, Boutamine confirmed that he had taken in one Bouchareb (Layada's assumed name).

At no time, Boutamine said, did he suspect the nature of his guest's activities.

Yet, when the presiding judge of the special court asked the defendant to identify Layada as being the head of the family he had taken in, Boutamine surprised him by stating that he had never met the man in the dock. "Layada never crossed my threshold," he said. Layada, on the other hand, said that he did indeed spend three days at Boutamine Samir's. The prosecutor asked for a sentence of 20 years in prison for Boutamine and Sinia, and five years for Lagoune, Layada's brother-in-law.

It seems that Layada's appearance in the first two cases was due merely to the fact that his name was mentioned by the defendants, and that he was not directly involved in these cases. His lawyers claimed that Layada's remand order in all these cases was the same as the one on which the special court based its decision to sentence him to death last 15 June.

EGYPT

Motivations Behind Religious Decrees Examined

94LD0076A Cairo *AKHBA'R AL-YAWM* in Arabic
9 Jul 94 pp 1, 8

[Editorial by Ibrahim Sa'dah: "He Who is at Leisure" Issues 'Fatwas']

[Text] Iranian President Ayatollah Khamene'i has issued a fatwa [religious opinion] prohibiting the wearing of neckties because they violate the Islamic shari'ah! The fatwa accuses neckties of helping to proliferate a non-Islamic culture. To date, the fatwa has not determined the penalty that will be imposed on violators who insist on wearing neckties, particularly at wedding parties and social occasions.

These lines are no joke, and neither are they an attempt to slander the ayatollahs who rule Iran. They are what the world news agencies circulated verbatim, and what the Egyptian press republished last Saturday. Some people, and I am one of them, may believe that the report does not merit publication, because it is trivial. However, I believe that this triviality merits comment, regardless of the news report itself.

Such a fatwa is not new to our ears. Some of the esteemed radical leaders [amirs] in Egypt have often shocked us with similar opinions, including some who have prohibited the wearing of ordinary clothes and who have worn Pakistani pants under a jallabiyyah [loose robe] that barely covers the knees. Some have required their mothers, wives, sisters, and neighbors' daughters to wear both veil and mask, and some have imposed the Islamic dress code on elementary and preparatory school girls! Some of them have prohibited their families and their neighbors from watching television programs or listening to music and songs on radio! Some have forbidden sports for young boys and girls, and some have designed an Islamic "short" for soccer and basketball players to wear. Some have grown a thick and disgusting beard, while making sure at the same time to shave their mustache on the grounds that it is a defect that has to be removed! Some of them have preached that movie houses and theaters are places that belong to the devil and that they must be stoned and not approached. Some of these esteemed radical leaders have also exploited the opportunity and opened beauty shops that offer the latest hair styles for veiled women! The same thing can be said about the fad of a series of shops that offer nothing other than the latest cries in veiled women's fashions.

With a single glance at these clothes, we find that they bring a thousand and one innovations of loud-color combinations and of metal and woven accessories embroidered with gold thread, pearls, beads, and mother-of-pearl. This is in addition, of course, to the weirdest and strangest things that veiled women put on their heads. All this and other things make these women look like birthday dolls.

The objective of the veil is, as I understand it, to enable a woman to show herself in a modest and respectable manner that does not attract attention. But most of the fashions, styles, and innovations that we find in shops specialized in veiled women's clothing fail to accomplish this goal. I would bit be exaggerating if I said that some

of these styles attract more attention than ordinary clothes made of subdued colors and with a sensible design.

This is a part, not all, of the fatwas issued by terrorist leaders in our country, and these fatwas have been welcomed and supported by a considerable number of sectors that are spread here and there. Moreover, these leaders have spent their free time issuing hundreds and thousands of other fatwas that proscribe anything and everything on the claim of saving society from "infidelity, paganism," and "imported dissolution."

The outcome has been frightening in every sense of the word. We see the striking example that confirms this outcome most clearly in both mosque and school. Recreational and athletic activity has disappeared, thanks to application of the proscription policy that considers hobbies of all kinds a waste of time and a deviation from the faith! What a difference between our schools in the past and our schools at present!

Free government schools, and not costly private schools, have devoted great attention to the student's scientific, cultural, religious, and sports education. The curricula were of a high level, and teachers performed their duty of instructing, educating, and polishing students in their classrooms, and not in the homes of those who could afford to pay for private lessons! The teacher—whom we characterized in the past as almost an apostle for his devotion to the performance of his duty—who loved and sanctified his profession, has become now a mere machine that collects money from students who are forced to take private lessons if they plan to pass at the end of the school year!

As the school has lost its role in teaching the student, it has also lost its role in educating the student, discovering his talents, and determining his potentials and tendencies. In every school there were theater and music troupes and fine arts, including painting, sculpting, and photography. There were tournaments in all sports, beginning with swimming and ending with soccer, basketball, volleyball, and tennis. Secondary schools vied to win school championships at the end of each year. What is important is that sports fans followed those tournaments with the same interest with which they follow national soccer championship games these days. Most of Egypt's famous athletes and champions in these sports started and trained in their schools first and then proceeded to join clubs.

Schools were factories that produced actors, singers, composers, creative artists, and athletes. This activity diminished year after year in our schools, until it disappeared completely, thanks to directors and supervisors of school districts who have abolished these activities on the pretext of squeezing expenditures and of the lack of a budget. Add to this the fact that some of these supervisors and directors are convinced that these hobbies and games are "dirty satanic acts that must be buried in all schools."

Education Minister Dr. Husayn Kamil Baha'-al-Din is disturbed and worried by what has afflicted our schools, and he has tried, and continues to try, to rescue them from the schemes that the leaders of ignorance and terrorism hatch to destroy these schools and to graduate generations that have no concern other than to proclaim others infidels and to prohibit all that is beautiful and noble in life.

The same thing that has happened in schools is happening in mosques. Any person can now walk up to the podium and preach to people, determining for them reward and punishment in the here and in the hereafter! What is amazing is that most of these "missionaries and preachers, rather not one of them has graduated from the venerable al-Azhar! In spite of this, the Ministry of Awqaf allows them to spread their ideas and allegations and to attribute them falsely and shamelessly to the true Islamic faith and to its tolerant shari'ah! The examples are abundant, and they are well known to members of the congregations who have become accustomed to hearing "sermons" in which the preachers talk about politics, sports, economics, the law, and art. These subjects are tied together by a single thread and a single goal, and this goal is to have them "proscribed" totally by both the ruler and the ruled!

This type of "missionaries" and "preachers" spend hours and hours with no concern other than to proclaim everything that society does, says, and believes in as a lack of faith. What is regrettable is that some of these people received the attention of members of congregations who have believed what they heard and who have imagined that what these "preachers" have uttered is the indubitable right and truth and the sound interpretation of the teachings of Islam and its shari'ah.

This has happened and is still happening in the Ministry of Awqaf mosques and all that the laughing [awqaf] minister has done is to become even happier with himself and to redouble his field tours in which he distributes his broad smiles to those who listen to his resounding speeches!

What has happened in our schools and mosques is a consequence of negligence by most former education ministers on the one hand and, on the other hand, of weakness, not to say involvement, by some high-ranking and minor Ministry of Awqaf officials. What is important is that the fault is the fault of individuals who have provided full opportunity to those who call for proclaiming society unfaithful and for returning it to the ages of ignorance so they can control both school and mosque. What has happened in Egypt is totally different from what is happening in Iran.

In Iran, the permissible is not proscribed by ignorant leaders arising from among ordinary citizens but is imposed by the government with iron and fire. The ayatollahs have succeeded in establishing their state in Iran, and they have also called for exporting their

"Islamic" revolution to the five continents. Very regrettably, Muslims have been the people most severely victimized by this "revolution," and the people who feel saddest for the distortion of their faith, its tenets, and its shari'ah.

This "revolution" has presented to the world an extremely bad and distorted image of the Islamic faith and has portrayed the Islamic peoples as if they were exact replicas of what Iran's ayatollahs do and preach. In the world's eyes, terrorism has become closely connected with Islam. Whenever a terrorist crime occurs in a part of the world, the world media hastens to accuse the "Islamic" Iranian revolution of being behind the crime.

Islam proscribes the taking of life, unless for justifiable reasons, and it condemns as criminal aggression against others and the usurpation of rights. But at the end of the 20th Century, Iranian ayatollahs have come to permit what Islam proscribes. They have been behind the terrorism from which Algeria has been suffering for long years, and to this very day! They were behind the catastrophe that has afflicted Sudan when they supported Sudan's government in sabotaging and destroying the country. They were behind the civil war that flared up in Lebanon and that destroyed the country and divided it into mini-states ruled by the militias! They have also remained loyal to their old tradition and their chronic hatred of whatever is Arab. We still recall the war they waged against the Iraqi people for more than eight years. Moreover, the Arab Muslim Egypt has not been spared their ceaseless efforts to support the radical groups with money, weapons, and schemes aimed at destabilizing and weakening the regime and ensuring its inability to confront Iran's schemes to devour the Arab states! Iran does not conceal its ambitions in the territories and resources of the Arab Gulf states. Rather, it bared its talons when it occupied three islands belonging to the UAE [United Arab Emirates] and, with utter arrogance, declared their annexation to the "greater" Iran, as in the "greater" Israel.

The schemes of Iran's ayatollahs have not stopped at this point. Here is the entire world talking these days about their role in the ugliest crime committed against the Arab Muslim people of Yemen in the hope that they will control and dominate Yemen and turn its land into a big camp to harbor and train terrorists and into a starting point from whence they proceed to spread their terrorism and to implement their schemes in the Arab countries that are close to Yemen and far from it.

These are the goals of Iran's ayatollahs who preach these goals among the nation of our master Muhammad, may God's peace and prayers be upon him!

Last week, France's Channel 5 presented a lengthy television program on domestic conditions in Iran. After long years of Khomeyni's rule and the rule of his heirs, the conditions—as I saw them in the program—are stunning and much uglier than what we have heard or read about them. Lest some rush to accuse French

television of infidelity, racism, and hatred for Islam and Muslims, I will hasten to say that all that was said in the program was with the voices and images of Muslim Iranians who had been enthusiastic for Khomeini's return and for ending the shah's corrupt regime. But these Iranians experienced an immense shock when they lived under the terrorist regime that is falsely and deceptively attributed to Islam.

The ayatollahs have turned Islam's tolerance into whips with which they blaze the faces and backs of their Muslim subjects. They have proscribed anything and everything to their subjects. The rulers have looted Iran's wealth of oil and mineral resources and spent it on themselves and on their internecine wars and conflicts to seize power; to try to export "their revolution;" to shower their agents with their gifts; and to finance radical groups in all five continents. Only the Iranian citizen is denied his wealth and is the one who lives in poverty, humiliation, fear, and denial of the simplest rights stipulated by the Islamic shari'ah!

The Iranians [in the French TV program] talked about a government that has abandoned its country, neglected all services that are indispensable to the people, and devoted itself to issuing fatwas that proscribe the permissible in all that pertains to all of the citizens' most delicate private affairs, liberties, and rights! The most striking example of this fact is that Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Khamene'i [name and title as published] has abandoned the country's problems, conflicts, and budget deficit and devoted himself to issuing fatwas, the latest of which is a fatwa that prohibits the Iranian citizen from wearing a necktie on the claim that the Islamic shari'ah prohibits the wearing of "neckties."

Initially, I did not believe my eyes when I read the Iranian president's fatwa. It is unreasonable and unacceptable that anybody should make such claims and base them on Islam's teachings and shari'ah. But what can we say when the person making the false claims is the very head of a big state who rules and controls tens of millions of people! Is it reasonable that the "necktie" should constitute an issue that preoccupies the head of state, to which he devotes absolute priority, and for whose sake he pores over the shari'ah. Perhaps he can find in it a provision that he will not hesitate to bend and interpret to satisfy the fatwa that he has issued and that has made anybody who has read or heard it laugh!

Initially, I did not, as I have already said, believe that a head of state would issue such a fatwa. But after a while, I reached a conclusion about the only explanation behind this strange and amazing fatwa. I have noticed that Israelis, both citizens and rulers, wear neckties only on very few occasions. Otherwise, they appear in public wearing only a shirt or a shirt and a jacket over it, but without a necktie in both cases. This tradition is not new to the Israelis. It dates back to the beginnings of the State of Israel. Most published photos of former and current Israeli leaders, beginning with David Ben-Gurion and

ending with Yitzhaq Rabin, show them without neckties. This is a tradition to which they have adhered to this day, except when they go abroad on official visits and occasions.

This Israeli innovation has attracted the attention of some curious people who have written about it and who have disagreed over its reasons. Some believe that Israel's hot climate prevented Israelis from wearing a necktie, and some have attributed the reason to the Jewish faith, saying that the rabbis' interpretations of their religion is the reason behind keeping the necktie away from the Israelis' necks.

When we realize that relations were, and still are, strong between Iran and Israel, whether during the shah's administration or after Khomeini pounced on power, then why should we find it unlikely that with this decree, President 'Ali Khamene'i has sought to emulate the Israelis' attire, as he emulates them in their ambitions and their expansions at the expense of Arab lands?

Challenge, Possibilities of Water Resources Examined

Water Shortage Issues Examined

94LD0072A Cairo *AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI* in Arabic
3 Jul 94 p 6

[Article by Bahirah Mukhtar]

[Text] The Governorate: One of the governorates of Egypt.

The Center: One of the centers of the above-mentioned governorate.

Local Unit: As above.

The Date: Monday, 30 June 1994

The Situation: During a field visit of the technical advisor of the National Program for the Rationalization of Water Consumption, one Ayman 'Abd-al-Wahab, and his colleague, Coordinator of the Societal Activity Unit, 'Isam Nada, these men tested general potability without a faucet or tap—meaning that water is gushing out of this conduit 24 hours a day, 365 days a year—366 days when it is a leap year. If we figure that water gushes out of this conduit at the speed of 1 meter per second (a conservative estimate). If the diameter of the said conduit is 4.9 cm, then the volume of water coming out per second is 490 cubic centimeters [cm^3] water gushing out per day is 43.2 cubic meters [m^3], or 1,296 [m^3] per month, or 15,552 [m^3] per year. Assuming that the cost of a cubic meter of water is 1 pound, this means that the cost of the water pouring out of this conduit, in that unit, in that governorate of Egypt, which may, or rather inevitably, repeats itself at many sites in the land of Egypt—that the cost to the state is 15,552 Egyptian pounds per year. "Honestly, that is a sin," and thus the aim of the National Program for the Rationalization of Water Consumption is to "prevent" and "atone for" this sin, which is the wastage of 3 billion [m^3] of potable water per year,

But will people be convinced, just by this story and this number, to rationalize water consumption, and see the importance of creating a new department in their lives, called the Water Department? And how can they interact—beyond cooperation between them and the executive and conservation agencies—to achieve this goal?

So: There is a need for more numbers and more stories dealing with water in Egypt.

It has been proved that the amount of drinking water wasted by consuming agencies and sanitary equipment, is 23.8 percent of all water produced annually, which is 3 billion [m^3] per year, according to Engineer Safwat Bisharah, president of the National Program's Group for the Development of the Drinking Water Conservation Industry. He also said, "the significance of these numbers is that what we have can be consumed, and more, because of immoderation in usage or extracting it for inappropriate uses, such as watering gardens with potable water, failure to maintain pipelines and other water-carrying devices. And then there is what we all have seen on buildings' water tanks, spilling water around the pipes, all because of the lack of use of sanitary drinking water-conservation devices—these are all errors of practice and maintenance."

Other stories and numbers tell us that the average minimum rate of water outflow between 0300 and 0400 every morning is about 88 percent of average outflow during daylight hours. This means that there is grave water leakage, reflecting the poor state of our plumbing equipment. There are no strong standards for organizing, regulating, or quality control in the production and assembly of sanitary and plumbing equipment; the role and responsibility of the water attendant when he installs the water meters. Here we must pause to consider the call discussed in the symposium opening the project, which sought the installation of water meters in every apartment, just as there are electric meters, to gain control over water leakage, and to boost conservation, in particular in popular housing, where there are no water conservation procedures. As Sa'd-al-Din al-Dib, Director of the Cairo Water Authority, has said, the utility provides water to 12 million citizens daily—the residents of Cairo—though he has only 600,000 official subscribers to the utility, that is, who have meters.

Meters must be installed, according to Dr. Sarah Lawzah, director of the Social Analysis and Planning Department's consulting office, which is responsible for social research, the media, and technical assistance for local societies, and their participation in the project.

It has created a new industry to manufacture water conservation equipment, and we have actually seen some of it in the opening symposium. It created new job opportunities in the field of classifying, marketing, installation, and maintenance of plumbing and sanitary equipment, raising the standards of the current labor force, and not neglecting it, because it is still participating and serving.

Executive agencies must interact with popular agencies, and with the people, to create a Water Department now that it has become a fateful necessity. Dr. 'Atif 'Ubayd, minister of the Public Works Sector, and minister of state for Administrative Development and Environmental Affairs, has said that Egypt will face a genuine problem in finding the water resources necessary to meet demand in the next few years. This is estimated at about 67.7 billion [m^3] of water until the year 2000. Per capita consumption in Cairo alone is 350 liters per day, costing the state 1 Egyptian pound per cubic meter, while individuals pay just 13 piasters for that service. This is a major burden on the state, especially when added to water misuse, and the more so when one realizes that Egypt has paid 10 billion pounds, the cost of treating drinking water in the period from 1977-1993. But in view of production price rises, it is expected that this figure will increase to 1 billion pounds per year to provide citizens with clean water!

We return to the official in charge of the Cairo Water Authority—providing clean water to 12 million people—Sa'd-al-Din al-Dib: "We are working on providing the greatest possible quantity of drinking water, in accordance with global sanitary standards. In aid of that, numerous projects have been established, in addition to the start-up and maintenance of various production sites and distribution networks, but what saddens me is when I find all this effort achieves in the end is 200 million Egyptian pounds representing the commission's losses to support the price of water because of misuse and poor sanitary equipment.

"The state supports—and the people lose. Thus there must be popular participation. Legislation will not change people's behavior." Then he spoke in the language of numbers, saying:

"The Cairo Water Authority's daily production is 4 million [m^3]. Daily per capita consumption average is 300 liters. Water loss due to sanitary equipment is 15 percent. Total loss is 1 million [m^3] per day. Average loss per day per capita is 83 liters. The annual production cost support is 66.5 million meters. [sentence as published] The investment cost of establishing water stations to compensate for this loss is approximately 300 million pounds."

As many as 1.6 million people will benefit in the event water loss is reduced 50 percent. Here, 'Adil al-Tawil, vice president of the Cairo Water Authority, says that "the loss is between 30 to 40 percent, including both the loss due to misuse and to poor sanitary equipment inside homes, and the drinking water networks, which we are always trying to develop. Thus there must be rationalization and study of its reuse, encouraging local ideas and inventions in the field of water conservation, and providing the means for achieving conservation: sanitary equipment at nominal prices, or at no cost, such as evacuation tank bathrooms and plastic bags to reduce the volume of evacuation tanks."

There is a strong link between our country's population growth and the National Program for the Rationalization of Water Consumption. The increase in population influences the increase in consumption, and on top of that there is no rationalization in effect so far. When I was a member of one of the media workshops sponsored by the UN's Population Activities Fund in Bonn three years ago, I spoke to one of the experts there, saying, "The Egyptian media has debated all aspects of the population problem and its secondary implications, and enumerated some of them." Then I went on to say, "What, in your view, is the problem that must be faced, which we have not yet discussed in Egypt, which has a negative effect on population growth?"

He said: "The problem of the water shortage."

This goal has now been reached through the new project. Thus geologist Salah Hafiz, president of the Environmental Affairs Agency, has said that even though the government is enacting its population program, which is expected to reduce the population growth rate to 1.8 percent annually before the end of this century, it is now 2.2 percent. It is anticipated that by the year 2025 the population of Egypt will be 86 million, and only a small percentage of those people will live outside the territories of the Nile Valley and the Delta. They will not be benefiting from any other water resources on the map of Egypt, which reasserts the effect of population growth on the decrease in the per capita share of water in the future. On the other hand, health services have not kept pace with the growth in population, because of its dizzying speed, and its devouring of services, and this has led to land and water pollution. Numbers tell us that 80 percent of the urban population (19-24 million) enjoy a reasonable level of public health services, including indoor plumbing. This figure is seen as better than average in developing countries. Numbers also tell us that public sewers serve 77 percent of urban dwellers. The actual reality may be different, given that we are still seeing sewerage overflow and sewer blockage in parts of some cities. The same report says, though, that 5 percent of the rural population is connected to public sewer lines; 25 percent enjoy public sanitary facilities. This means, at the same time, that 75 percent of the rural population has no indoor plumbing; 20 percent uses public facilities, and this imbalance in services and utilities has an effect on the outflow of water that has no conduits, and mixes with drinking water, because it goes directly into the ground. Here the conservation program will have another basic role in preventing the pollution of clean water in addition to its water conservation mission. This undoubtedly requires, as Dr. Sarah Lawzah says, that administrative employees be trained in aspects of water variety management, the classification of water systems for priority uses, aid and toxic waste treatment, and a decrease in "black points" of pollution sites in various areas, beginning with Cairo, Suez, and Ismailia. Then all Egypt will join in, until the program truly was national, because the aim of this National Program for the Rationalization of Water Consumption is to change people's

behavior as regards water usage at home, in the field, and everywhere. We will meet this goal only if people believe in the importance of the coming program for change. The password is: "the people."

Waste, Use of Water Resources Reported

94LD0072B Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 6 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by Dr. 'Abd-al-Majid Faraj of the College of Economics and Political Science: "Measures of the Water Shortfall in Egypt"]

[Text] The headline might suggest that we are dealing with a solely statistical subject.

Actually, however, it is a wholly political subject, despite the numbers and estimates that permeate it. According to the width or narrowness of the water gap, Egyptian negotiators define their positions in the Nile water distribution negotiations: hardline or easygoing, high or low, without prejudice to the rights of others, and without neglecting Egypt's rights.

One thing is certain: that grasping the concept of the gap or shortfall helps to increase confidence in the statistical estimates of this shortfall, in such a way that estimates multiply along with the concepts. And thus with the multivarious announcements, and the various estimates varying with the various definitions that form the basis for estimates of the shortfall; as well, with the various methods employed to formulate these estimates.

In spite of the simplicity of the idea of measuring the water shortfall, considering it is the mathematical difference between available water resources, on one hand, and water uses on the other, this relationship—despite its simplicity—can yield several different estimates of the shortfall, with a variety of definitions of resources, and a variety of definitions of uses.

The most authoritative estimates of the future water shortfall in Egypt, based, of course, on estimates of future water resources and uses, rest on one standard, which is the validity of past rates on the future, as it is without the least change or emendation from what it is now.

Therein is hidden the danger of relying on official estimates of the shortfall in available water, which rely on official quarters for arriving at them, and calculating them by projecting prevailing consumption averages for water resources, without taking into consideration past or future leakage or waste.

To rectify this situation, the Egyptian team at the Nile water negotiations may find itself better able and more flexible if it has available to it several estimates of the water shortfall relying, on the uses side, (and I will not speak here about the subject of uses) on the many assumptions we might mention, of which we here mention three specifically:

The first assumption: Continued consumption at current levels.

Second assumption: A drop in current levels of consumption.

Third assumption: An increase in consumption from current levels.

Thus room for maneuver becomes easy for Egyptian negotiators, among the three estimates of the water shortfall, and we say at least we can call them, in the order given above of hypotheses, the medium variant, the low variant, and the high variant.

It may be said that the high variant of the shortfall will reflect all forms of waste and recklessness with water resources, and loss and leakage, and so on. The low variant of the water shortfall would take into account, on an estimated basis, all methods for rationalizing, management, and economy in the use of water resources. The medium variant would fall between those two extremes.

The mention of rationalizing future water use brings us to the study of all sectors that use water, to ascertain the possibility of rationalization and its extent in each.

Official quarters have narrowed down to four the sectors that use water resources in Egypt. These are: the household sector, the agricultural sector, the industrial sector, and the maritime sector. The current and future water use of each is estimated according to official sources as follows:

Water Use by Sector in Billions of Cubic Meters in Years Shown				
Year	1993	2000	2010	2025
Household Sector	2.9	3.1	3.6	5.1
Agricultural Sector	51.5	61.5	65.0	67.0
Industrial Sector	5.9	6.5	7.6	12.1
Maritime Sector	2.1	0.4	0.4	0.4
All Sectors	62.4	71.5	76.6	84.6

Although I was unable to get involved in rationalizing water use in the productive sectors—agriculture, industry, and maritime—I am confident that the Ministry of Irrigation and the other relevant technical ministries are capable among themselves of devising schemes for rationalizing water uses in these sectors, thus helping to reduce the water shortfall from the future estimates made of it.

Turning to the household sector, proposals for water usage rationalization can be made by any and every citizen. However, I will only add to what has come before, and to what has been called for in the past: there must be greater awareness among the people, and sleeping consciences must be awakened; behavior must be modified, and slogans must be found to get Egyptians to shut off their faucets. That is because I believe that this call can meet with no more success than the call for birth control. Both are personal issues, dealt with behind closed doors; results are hard to know, and it is impossible to impose surveillance on people to see whether they are complying or not.

I imagine that it would be more feasible to look at three things:

1. The official commissions for public water utilities in Cairo and other governorates, and the problem of the lack of installable water meters, the inability to maintain and repair broken meters, and the utilities' resorting to the averaging out of readings, which the public complains about.

2. The plumbing profession at the country-wide level, which has faded for several reasons, such as the emigration of most technicians to other Arab countries, with returnees being star struck and too proud to go back to their original occupations.

3. The manufacture of sanitary equipment; otherwise modern equipment must be imported without delay. Although eagerness and care in the need to rationalize water consumption in the household sector will never eclipse the equal efforts in the productive sectors already mentioned; this is because household sector is trifling—no more than 4.7 percent of total consumption in years 1993, 2000, and 2010, never exceeding 6 percent in 2025. I do not believe that the use of turbid water in irrigating gardens in the household sector merits rationalization. Some believe in the need for that, however, and have proposed measures for it. Some emphasize, in addition to rationalization efforts, the importance of increasing the supply of water resources. They mention, among the means of realizing this increase, the processing, renewal, or purification of used water, and estimate the volume of this increase in the billions of cubic meters: 8.4 in 1993, 14.7 in 2000, and 18.4 in 2010. This move could be adapted if the costs were known, and after assurances that the aim of purifying previously used water would be for use in the productive sector rather than the household sector. To say nothing of putting a question mark after the leaps the above estimates represent, of water needing to be purified; the first leap represents 6.3 billion [m³] in seven years, from 1993 to 2000, while the second leap is only 3.7 billion [m³] over a longer period, estimated at ten years—from 2000 until 2010.

In the final analysis, it is vital and essential to meet the water shortfall or reduce it, but it is not the responsibility solely of the Ministry of Irrigation. The other ministries must commit themselves to it—cooperating with it is not enough—and make the wisest use of the water available to them.

None of these hopes are unrealizable to the current Minister of Irrigation, whose seriousness, technical ability, and clear political acumen are well known.

[Box, p 6]

'The Story of Water in Egypt'

Despite the fact that these numbers reflect the volume of Egypt's water resources, they say at the same time the Water Department has not fully begun yet. They are numbers whose meaning does not reflect the extent of benefit from the resource, but sets out, between the lines, the restrictions that weaken its potential. There is the volume of cost, there are plans and projections for increasing the agricultural area, there are projects that have stopped for political reasons, and there are projects for the future, such as reusing water. Then there is the story of people themselves and their water needs, the type of water, and the connection between all this and legislation and international agreements that call on us in the end to think, and to think up a new method for the Water Department in Egypt.

The preparation of water policies in Egypt began in 1933, to benefit from the additional stored energy produced by the second elevation of the Aswan reservoir and the construction of the Jabal al-Awlia' reservoir in Sudan.

That policy included—at the time—a horizontal broadening agricultural program, a flood irrigation effort in Upper Egypt, and an expansion of the area of rice cultivation, to 915,540 feddans (384,600 hectares [ha]).

In 1974, the water budget was reviewed and the water policy was updated.

After the construction of the High Dam, a detailed draft for a water policy was prepared in 1975, covering water resources in Egypt at that time, and projected resources in the future as regards surface water and groundwater and the water reuse program.

The updating of Egypt's water policy in 1988 was the result of a number of events in the last decade, which had a direct effect on water planning in Egypt. Some of the major ones were:

- The 1979-1988 drought, when the average annual flow of Nile water dropped to 48.6 billion [m^3]; in 1985, the Ministry of Public Works and Water Resources initiated a water management program. This decreased the water flow from the High Dam to 54 billion [m^3] in 1990, and the High Dam reservoir dropped to its lowest possible level, estimated at 6.84

billion [m^3] in June 1988. The water level reached 150.62 meters.

- The halt of construction work on the Junqali Canal in Sudan since 1983, and the delay of Egypt obtaining its projected share, estimated at 2 billion [m^3] in 1987.
- Egypt decided to initiate a land reclamation program estimated at 144,500 feddans (60,700 ha) per year, requiring an estimated annual increase of about 1 billion [m^3] of water.

Egypt's water policy until the year 2000 is being focused, after its update in 1990, on the following points:

- The source of surface water available to Egypt is limited by Egypt's share of Nile water, estimated at 55.55 million [m^3] [sic], according to the Nile Accord of 1959 with Sudan. It is projected that by the year 2000, with the end of the first phase of the establishment of the Junqali Canal in Sudan, Egypt will obtain its additional share, estimated at 2 billion [m^3].
- Water flowing into the sea and lakes was estimated at 12 billion [m^3] in 1990. It cannot be reused at all, for technical reasons.
- The amount of deep groundwater drawn down in the Western Desert can be increased from 0.5 billion [m^3] in 1990 to 2.5 billion [m^3] in the year 2000; groundwater in the Delta and the Nile Valley, from 2.2 billion [m^3] to 4.9 billion [m^3] by the year 2000.
- The potable water allocated to navigation, which ends up in the sea, will be decreased from 1.8 billion [m^3] in 1990 to 0.3 billion [m^3] in the year 2000. The difference will be held in reserve in al-Burullus Lake for future use.
- Through the Water Department, and an improvement in irrigation, 1 billion [m^3] per year can be provided by the year 2000.
- The quantity of potable water used in Egypt is estimated at 59.2 billion [m^3] per year; agriculture gets 84 percent of it; industry, 8 percent; household and municipal use, 5 percent; and river navigation, 3 percent. The decision has been made to increase the volume of total water use to 69.4 billion [m^3] per year by the year 2000, with an industrial share increase of 50 percent, and a drop in the river navigation share.
- Agriculture gets 84 percent of Egypt's available potable water (49.7 billion [m^3] per year in 1990), not including the loss of 3 billion [m^3] per year as the result of evaporation from the irrigation system. The annual loss from leakage and evaporation is estimated at 34.8 billion [m^3].
- In 1990, the water allocation for industry was estimated at 4.6 billion [m^3] per year.
- From February to September each year, the water allocated for agriculture has been sufficient to preserve the water levels needed for river navigation, but was not sufficient for reduced agriculture needs from October until January, which is the high tourist season; 1.8 billion [m^3] of water are allocated to preserve the water level needed for river navigation.

It is expected that these allocations will drop to 0.3 billion [m³] annually in the year 2000.

The reuse of treated water:

The indirect, sanitary reuse of water in Egypt since 1951 in the Eastern Desert in the Jabal al-Asfar region.

Interior Ministry Confirms Senior Appointments

94LD0076B Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 27 Jul 94 p 7

[Article by Ahmad Musa and Ilham Sharshar: "Interior Minister Confirms Promotions and Transfers of Police Commanders and Officers; Changes Aimed at Meeting Security Needs; Implementation Will Begin in August"]

[Text] Interior Minister Hasan al-Alfi yesterday has confirmed transfers and promotions among Interior Ministry leaderships. The personnel actions affect 1,870 officers and include extending the service of seven officers who have spent seven years in the rank of major general for two more years; the service of 22 officers who have spent three years in the rank of major general for two more years; and the service of 43 officers who have spent two years in the rank of major general for three more years. Forty seven brigadiers general have been promoted to the rank of major general.

At noon yesterday, Major General Ahmad Kishk, head of the General Officers' Affairs Directorate, and Ra'uf al-Minawi, head of the General Information and Public Relations Directorate, held a press conference in which they announced details of the annual personnel actions of police officers for this year and said that the changes have come about as a result of the instructions of Interior Minister Hasan al-Alfi and that it is aimed at meeting the security needs of the policies embraced by the ministry currently. They added that leadership and middle-level positions have been distributed in a way that serves the ministry's goals in the coming phase and the officers' human and social circumstances.

The personnel actions include the transfer of 1,870 officers from the third district, including 635 officers from Upper Egypt who have gotten excellent rating reports, fulfilling their wishes to be transferred to the areas they want; and the transfer of 411 officers from the third [sic] district (Lower Egypt), including 175 officers who have gotten excellent ratings, 218 officers who have been transferred to areas compatible with their positions, and 18 officers who have been transferred out of consideration for their capability and excellent rating and because they have not served in the third district previously.

The movements also include the following transfers among the minister's assistants: Maj. Gen. Rida 'Abdal-Aziz, first assistant minister for Southern Upper Egypt; Maj. Gen. Muhammad Tahir Hijab, first assistant minister for administrative affairs; Maj. Gen. Fahim Husayn, assistant minister for specialized police; Maj. Gen. Ahmad Bakr, assistant minister for the Western

Delta District; Maj. Gen. Ahmad Sabri, assistant minister for financial affairs; Maj. Gen. Muhammad 'Abdal-Latif Khadr, assistant minister for the Central Delta; Maj. Gen. Muhammad Mahran, assistant minister for security forces; and Maj. Gen. 'Adil Ma'tuq, assistant minister for Northern Upper Egypt. A total of 218 brigadier generals, 265 colonels, 312 lieutenant colonels, 395 majors, 701 captains, and 782 first lieutenants have been "commissioned" and promoted.

Because of the nature of the current security conditions and of the accompanying security information that seeks to refute the terrorist groups' allegations and to convey a living reflection of any developments in the arena and because of the successes the security information agency has achieved in recent months—successes which are no less significant than the blows dealt the terrorist groups—the interior minister has issued a decree raising the Information and Relations Directorate to the level of General Directorate of Information and Public Relations and placing it under the chairmanship of Maj. Gen. Ra'uf al-Minawi so it will perform its full role in the current phase.

The Court Sentences Execution Directorate has also been raised to the level of a general directorate headed by Maj. Gen. Faruq Hafiz so it will contribute to implementing the current requirements, executing court sentences, and pursuing criminals who have escaped from justice. The changes will be implemented as of 2 August 1994.

This movement has included the following transfers among major generals:

Ibrahim Muhammad 'Ashrah, head of the General Military Judiciary Directorate; Mamduh Ma'mun Abu-Sahli, head of the General Work Permits Directorate; Nabil 'Ayta, al-Jizah security director; Husayn Mahmud Ghazal, head of the General Water Bodies Police Directorate; 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Sharif, head of the General Recruit Affairs Directorate; Muhammad 'Izz-al-Din al-Ahmadi, al-Buhayrah security director; Ahmad Mahmud Sadiq, Damietta security director; Fu'ad Mandur, Port Said security director; Muhammad Kamal Kattat, al-Gharbiyah security director; al-Muhtadi Billah Jabr, Northern Sinai security director; 'Ali Abu-al-Nasr, head of a general directorate in the Prisons Authority sector; Ibrahim al-Disuqi 'Atallah, head of the Travel, Immigration, and Citizenship Documents Agency; Mahmud Yasin Ibrahim, Suez security director; 'Ali Kamil Muhammad al-Hawwam, head of the General Supply and Commerce Police Directorate; Khalil Hamid Ibrahim, head of a general directorate in the Prisons Authority sector; 'Abd-al-Wahhab Aba Zayd Ahmad, Sawhaj security director; 'Abd-al-Qawi Yusuf Muqallid, head of the General Police Insurance and Pensions Directorate; Muhammad al-Siba'i Mahmud, head of the General Directorate of Institutes for Police Superintendents; Muhammad 'Abd-al-Fattah Salim 'Id, Alexandria security deputy director who holds the rank

of general director; and Muhammad 'Abd-al-Majid Bakhhati, al-Jizah security deputy director who holds the rank of general director.

The movement further includes the following major generals:

Sabri Labib Shandi, head of the General Prisons Administration Agency; Muhammad Farid Bahnasawi, al-Minya security director; Muhammad Sami Isma'il Husayn, head of the General Directorate To Fight Crime Against Public Money; Yusuf al-Dahshuri, head of the General Police Union Directorate; 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Wutaydi, head of the General Medical Services Directorate; Muhammad Mustafa al-Shinnawi, Cairo security deputy director; Faruq 'Abd-al-Halim al-Maqrahi, head of the General Directorate for Executing Court Sentences Intelligence; Muhammad 'Uthman al-Nazir, head of the General Cairo Traffic Directorate; Muhammad Ra'uf al-Minawi, head of the General Information Directorate; 'Abd-al-Latif al-Khuwaysiki, head of the General Work Permits Directorate; 'Ali Muhammad Khalaf, deputy head of a general directorate at the Prisons Authority sector; Muhammad Hamdi al-Dib, Alexandria security deputy director; Sa'd al-Jammal, al-Qalyubiyah security deputy director; Muhammad Sha'rawi, deputy head of the General Officer Affairs Directorate; Faruq Makki, Sawhaj security deputy director; Hasan Husayn, Aswan security deputy director; Muhammad Abu-al-Najah, Qina security deputy director; Muhammad Muhsin Majdi, Public Security Agency deputy director; Mushrif 'Ali Mushrif, Juvenile Welfare Police Directorate head; Mustafa Sabri, Civil Defense Agency deputy director; Majdi Zahran, deputy head of the Alexandria Seaport General Police Directorate; Muhammad al-'Abbudi, Civil Defense Agency deputy director; Muhsin 'Ali Hasan, General Recruit Affairs Directorate deputy chief; Hasan Shahin Hasan, Vital Statistics Affairs Agency deputy director; 'Abd-al-'Aziz Shahin, deputy chief of General Directorate of Special Police Guard; Sa'id Mahmud Fayid, deputy chief of a general directorate at the Prisons Authority sector; Muhammad al-Maysur al-Sayrafi, General Personnel Affairs Directorate deputy chief; Muhsin Wadi', deputy chief of General Financial Projects and Research Directorate; Zaki Ghunaym, deputy chief of General Directorate for Information and Documentation; Ahmad al-Hafnawi, deputy chief of General Directorate of Development and New Communities Police; Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Disuqi, sector security deputy chief at Sawhaj security; Mahdi Ahmad 'Izz-al-Din, deputy chief of Alexandria Seaport Police Directorate; Wajih Muhammad 'Isa, deputy chief of General Medical Services Directorate; 'Adil 'Abd-al-Maqṣud 'Afifi, deputy chief of the Travel Documents, Immigration, and Citizenship Agency; 'Abdallah al-Khuli, al-Jizah security deputy director; Muhammad Baligh Muhammad Bahjat, general directorate deputy chief at the Prisons Authority sector; Wahbah Isma'il 'Abd-al-Sami', General Administrative Affairs Directorate

deputy chief; 'Abd-al-'Azim 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Rakayibi, Northern Sinai security deputy chief; Hafiz Khadr, Asyut security deputy chief; Muhammad Khalaf, Asyut security deputy chief; Usamah al-Hamahimi, al-Minya security deputy chief; al-Sayyid al-Badawi Tawfiq, al-Minya security deputy chief; Mahmud 'Abduh Khayr-al-Din, general directorate deputy chief at the Prisons Authority sector; Ra'uf Hijazi, deputy chief of General Water Bodies Police Directorate; Nur-al-Din Hasan, Sawhaj security deputy director; Muhammad Hassan 'Abd-al-Rahman Ridwan, General Military Judiciary Directorate deputy chief; Muhammad Amin Hasan 'Awni, General Police Communications Directorate deputy chief; Muhsin Husayn Qamish, Qina security deputy director for al-Uqsur [Luksor] sector; Muhammad Salah-al-Din al-Shahidi, al-Daqahliyah security deputy chief; Mustafa Shunayshin, al-Sharqiyah security deputy chief; Mamduh Riyad Mustafa, General Supply and Commerce Directorate deputy chief; Ahmad Musa, General Insurance and Pensions Directorate deputy chief; Faruq Hilmi Abu-al-'Ata, General Drug Enforcement Directorate deputy chief; Midhat Ahmad Nabih, assistant chief of sector at Prisons Authority; 'Abd-al-Khalil 'Abd-al-Sami', General Drug Enforcement Directorate deputy chief; Rida Taha Shihatah, General Transport and Communications Police Directorate deputy chief; Muhammad Fakhri Dhikri, General Supply and Commerce Police Directorate deputy chief for support affairs; Maher Wadi' Manqaryus, Civil Vital Statistics Affairs Directorate deputy chief for (support affairs); Kamal 'Abd-al-'Azim Mandur, Civil Defense Agency deputy director for support affairs; Muhammad 'Abd-al-'Azim 'Abd-al-'Aziz, General Organization and Administration Directorate deputy director; Husayn 'Atiyah Mansur, Travel Documents Agency deputy chief for support affairs; 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Qinawi Kamil, General Criminal Investigations Directorate chief at the ministry; Salim 'Uthman 'Ashmawi, General Traffic Directorate deputy chief for support affairs; and Isma'il al-Ansari, general director of police officers' clubs and hotels.

Satellite TV Goals, Success Measured

Minister on Policy, Program Design

94LD0068A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
20 Jul 94 p 11

[Article by D. Sa'id al-Lawandi: No Western Information Plot Against Egypt]

[Text] The national Egyptian satellite channel is certainly one of the successful national information projects that has been realized in the last decade. Consequently, when we met with Mr. Safwat al-Sharif, the minister of information and a member of the delegation that accompanied President Husni Mubarak to Paris last week, we questioned him about the development plan for this pioneering information project in the Arab world. The minister's generosity did not prevent us from asking

other questions about the Western media and its stance concerning events in Egypt and about the attention given to Egyptian expatriates during national discussions.

In connection with the Egyptian satellite channel, Mr. Safwat al-Sharif states: "Within the past few days, the transmission of the satellite channel has began to cover 24 entire hours. This means that the transmission will cover time zone differences. It will also be easy for viewers all over the world to track it, not to mention that it has settled the competition between the Egyptian and other satellite channels in favor of the Egyptian channel, because it will always be available and in continuous operation."

"Thus, our Egyptian channel has gained primacy twice, the first when it became a pioneer in its field as the first international Arab channel in existence, and second when it succeeded in being the first satellite channel to transmit its programs non-stop, all day long.

"We are intent on continuing this distinction that the Egyptian satellite channel has displayed since its inception, be it in the communications technology it uses to operate, or in the services of the ground stations that make the ground stations transmit from various places."

Egyptian Broadcasting School

"As for news broadcasts, I would like to point out that Egypt has its own school, which bears its own specifications in relation to form, content, and focus. It is a school that differs from other broadcasting schools, be they in Britain, Japan, or the United States.

"Our satellite channel follows the classical model in its news broadcasts because it is intent on being more sedate, respectful, and earnest in dealing with the news. If other channels present their news broadcasts in a fast and short format, that—in my opinion—is because they fear that the viewer will leave them, fleeing to other channels. For that reason, they focus on the 'brevity of the newscast' and on attracting the viewer through the newscasters and not through competence.

"These are methods that are unknown to the Egyptian school, which preserves its traditions and adheres to its methods. At the same time, however, we will, through the upcoming development plan, consider focusing on the speed of presenting the news and its diversity."

I said to the minister: "The Egyptian satellite channel was the first channel that the French authorities permitted to transmit through 'cable' some months ago. However, up until now, it remains difficult to receive it. What is the reason?"

"The cable in Paris is still undergoing a stage of comprehensive expansion that might not end before 1995. Naturally, immediately after the completion of this task, it will be easy to receive the Egyptian satellite channel.

"Reception of the Egyptian channel transmission is expected next September through the international channel that broadcasts six hours daily in French and English. Russian will be added through the group of international satellites, Intelsat.

"It will thus be simple for every subscriber of the satellite channel to pick it up easily through its own special 'dish' or aerial dish.

"In spite of some obstacles that will soon disappear, we have confirmed that the Egyptian expatriates in Paris regularly view the satellite channel. Every person I meet assures me that he follows its programs. Moreover, the latest French polls confirm that there are more than one-half million satellite dishes in Paris.

"If we observe that the French themselves do not often use satellite dishes, then that means that it is the Egyptian and Islamic communities that are using them. In one way or another, this is a success for the Egyptian channel. We expect that in the coming period there will be an increase in its popularity, as it has actually succeeded in breaking the alienation barrier, shortened great distances, and made the expatriate Egyptian citizen feel that he is living in the heart of Egyptian events. An indication of this is the tens, or rather, hundreds of telephone calls, telegrams, and faxes that reach the satellite channel from France and other European countries."

Suggestions

"Some expatriates in France are suggesting that the satellite channel should present investigations about expatriates in other countries, while others are suggesting that the channel should focus on news from the regions. What is your opinion?"

"As for the first suggestion, while we are unable to implement or respond to all requests, we are currently seriously considering it, with the aim that the Egyptian expatriate movement abroad should have a definite share of presented programs. Some days ago there was a presentation from Austria and another from London. All in all, the general inclination is heading towards condensing and diversifying such presentations.

"As for the second suggestion concerning providing an outlet for news from the regions, I would like you to know that there are some Egyptian expatriates who reject it themselves. They demand that the Egyptian satellite channel not be concerned with regionalities, but that it be an international channel in the true meaning of the word. That means that opinions are contradictory on this point.

"We believe that the satellite channel should represent Egypt as a whole, and should represent Egyptian television and information with their noble manner and traditions, far from imitation or the blending with the tendencies of the other satellite channels."

The minister of information added: "We believe in specialization. The basic channel is essentially a national channel. As for the regional channels, it is natural that they would be local, while the international channel has to address the outside world. In short, we are living in the era of specialized information, and therefore, one should not shuffle the cards."

Western Information... Whither

"Western information has persisted in distorting the facts and exaggerating the violent incidents that Egypt has witnessed recently. What is your comment on that, and is there some kind of plan to put an end to this distortion?"

"I differ with you in this interpretation, because the West these days no longer finds events to blow up and distort, as you put it. I would believe that the media did no more than perform its duties. When Egypt witnessed violent incidents and countered and confronted them, exposing their falsity, the Egyptian and Western media reflected that matter.

"In other words, when the Egyptian media focused on terror, the Western media also focused on it. This is what makes me observe that it is not true that there is a planned media conspiracy against Egypt. I have said this many times, and I shall continue to say it, because information is in fact formed of circles that are connected to each other. It would not be possible to separate Egyptian information from the information movement in the world. Therefore, when our media speaks of terror, it is natural that that should be reflected in the international media, which will speak of terror in its turn.

"The media, as we know, always seeks sensational events in every inch of the world. If an earthquake were to occur in a certain place, and if an airplane were to crash in a second place, and if war were to break out in a third place, then the headlines in the world media would inevitably reflect these events directly. Why all this sensitivity about the Western media, which reports on events in Egypt as we ourselves report on them?"

"It is incumbent upon us to deal with the media in the world with the mentality of the age, respecting the other point of view, and believing that it is every writer's right to analyze and express his point of view toward what is happening, just as it is the right of every Egyptian to respond and comment.

"In any case, the problem of terror in Egypt has ended, has gone, not to return. That means that it no longer exists."

At the end of the conversation, I asked the minister of information: "Expatriate Egyptians complain that they were not to be found on the map of the national debate."

The minister interrupted me, saying sharply: "There is no logical or acceptable basis for this complaint for a simple reason—all Egyptians are to be found, or to be

more precise, are represented in this debate. Professionally, it is possible to classify the Egyptian communities abroad as engineers, doctors, attorneys, workers, and students. They are therefore represented through the unions of those professions, like the unions of engineers, physicians, attorneys, workers, etc. Even Egyptian women were to be found in the debate and presented their concerns, as did the youth."

In a calm voice, Mr. Safwat al-Sharif concluded his conversation with me, saying: "It is a mistake to believe that society is no more than increasingly distant islands. It is, the exact opposite, indivisibly whole. Egyptians abroad should rest assured that they were well represented in the national debate in which all groups and classes of the Egyptian people participated."

Domestic Coverage Called Uneven

94LD0068B Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic 17 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by Sa'id Sanbal]

[Text] Tonight is world cup championship night.

Before midnight in Cairo, hundreds of millions from all over the world will gather around TV sets to follow and view the proceedings of the final match between Brazil and Italy, which will decide the championship and declare the name of the victorious team.

In years past, and before the invention of artificial satellites that turned the world into a small village, people used to listen to broadcasts to know the results of world cup matches and to wait for newspapers that would come out the next day in order to read a report of the matches.

But these days, the picture is different. Artificial satellites now transmit matches to all corners of the world at the same moments the matches are taking place. No matter how different the locations are of the countries in which they live, people are now able to view the matches on television screens and to follow their proceedings second by second!

This is what has occurred during the past few days and weeks. All over the world, people followed the world cup matches, which took place in America, lived their proceedings and events, experienced each of their moments, and became excited about them.

World cup matches made people stay up late. Many suffered from anxiety and insomnia because of the time difference. Some matches took place at 1400, while others took place at 2230 and continued until after midnight. As for the best matches, they would start at 0230 Cairo time, and continue until the dawn hours!! As for me, I could not resist staying up for some of these matches, in spite of what they caused me in exhaustion and fatigue!

Recently, I went to the north shore. I found there a solution to the problems of staying up late and insomnia caused by the transmission of world cup matches.

Over there, I no longer stayed up late. And I began to go to bed at an early hour for a simple reason, which is that television transmission does not reach the north shore. And if it did, then it did in an intermittent, deformed, and shaky manner!! This, in spite of what is being said and what is being repeated—in effect, that Egyptian television transmission covers everything on Egyptian land.

It appears that the north shore is outside Egyptian land and the Egyptian border. The consolation for the people that are located in those regions is that they view television transmissions from Lebanese, Israeli, Syrian, Jordanian, and also, even from Moroccan channels.

Goals, Failures of Party Newspapers Viewed

94LD0076C Cairo *AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI* in Arabic
27 Jul 94 p 13

[Article by Dr. Salah Qabdaya, first chief editor of *AL-AHRAR*: "Crisis of Egyptian Party Press"]

[Text] On the basis of his distinguished journalistic and professional experience and through his expertise as the first chief editor of a party newspaper, namely *AL-AHRAR* (issued in 1977), Dr. Salah Qabdaya raises in his article, which we publish here today, an important political and press question on what he has called the "crisis of the Egyptian party press." It is Dr. Qabdaya's opinion that, on the one hand, the stipulation that a party chairman shares legal responsibility for what is published in his party newspaper and, on the other hand, the parties' political absence from the scene have created various kinds of journalistic competition among politicians and have intensified conflicts over party newspapers. From yet another aspect, the interaction of these elements, along with other causes, has produced a number of negative results that have clearly influenced the professional and political role and status of party newspapers. The writer has observed the manifestations and consequences of this influence from his own viewpoint. Within the framework of the "national dialogue" and of its eagerness to highlight the opinions of the various tendencies on the important issue raised, we have asked the esteemed chief editors of the *AL-WAFD*, *AL-ARABI*, *AL-SHA'B*, and *AL-AHALI* party newspapers to express their opinions in comment on Dr. Qabdaya's article. We will publish these opinions in succession as of next Wednesday.

Democracy is a major item in the platforms of all Egyptian political parties. Despite this, one finds that democracy is absent inside most of the opposition parties. Nobody who has observed the party experience in the past 10 years can deny that democracy is absent inside the parties, beginning with the system of party chairman selection and ending with nomination for

parliament seats. But we also do not deny the parties' adherence to democratic form to the extent that a party chairman selects exclusively all the figures that he wants next to him and then issues a decision appointing these figures in the name of the party's higher bodies. He then brings together those who are entitled to vote so they will bestow a democratic character upon the decision, which he considers a decision of sovereignty. Party chairmen have mastered this primitive game, which Egypt has experienced for a long time and from which all Egyptians, including party chairmen themselves, have suffered.

But this issue is more evident and serious in party newspapers, which are the the most important pillars of opposition parties in particular, but not the majority party which does not need the services of any supporting party paper with a limited influence and modest circulation.

When the parties' law was amended, legislators introduced into the law a new provision that makes a party chairman legally jointly accountable for what his party paper publishes, whereas the chief editor used to be fully accountable previously. Even though these amendments were not generally welcomed by party chairmen, they still opened for them the door of custodianship over journalistic work which, by its very nature, demands a great degree of flexibility, promptness, and freedom from invisible and undeclared considerations, which maneuvering politicians take into their account at times. A party newspaper's chief editor no longer has the powers a chief editor is supposed to have on the grounds that he is no longer solely accountable. This has bolstered the party chairman's dictatorship and has confirmed the accumulation of all threads in his hand. Perhaps this explains to us why some journalists shy away from shouldering the responsibilities of work in party newspapers now that chief editors have turned into executors of the party chairman's instructions—executors eager to please the party chairman and committed to present everything to him. This attitude has reflected in turn on workers in party newspapers.

But the real crisis facing party newspapers is not due to this issue, important as it is. The source of the crisis is the political absence of the parties from the Egyptian scene and from inside popular institutions. The parties' only choice to make up for their weak presence on the scene and in popular institutions is through the newspapers they own. We now find that the main efforts of party figures are focused in one vessel, the party newspaper. Opposition parties have to such a degree turned into a mere political reserve supporting the party newspaper, that all other political activities are channeled primarily toward the newspaper. It has become the goal of political seminars to be reported in the party newspaper. We have seen the few popular conferences organized by parties turn into a press demonstration in which participants aspire primarily to see their photographs and words published over the largest space possible. Thus, the means has become an end.

As a result, some sort of journalistic competition has developed among politicians, or people assumed to be politicians. A party member or a member of the party's higher or parliamentary committee, if it exists, has no purpose other than to figure in his party newspaper by the degree he deems appropriate. Politicians have lost the path to political action now that the means has, as we have already said, turned into an end. Because a newspaper's fate is in the hands of the party chairman who also heads the newspaper and the technocrats it includes, the chairman has bolstered his dictatorial powers and tightened his control over everybody through absolute powers that have actually become sovereignty powers.

This has been confirmed with the absence of party newspapers' executive boards. We do not know of the presence of such boards even though we are well aware that the party chairman is, by virtue of the imposed situation, the executive board chairman. We do not hear how these newspapers' executive board members are selected or how they are nominated to board membership or chairmanship. But we are well aware of the ability of party chairmen to select whomever they want to be in these boards, which they form as they wish, i.e., in the same manner they employ to deal with their other party organizations. We have not heard of any party cadre aspiring to become chairman of his party newspaper's executive board.

Most journalists in party newspapers have turned into defaced journalists. They are neither journalists nor politicians, but employees of the party chairman who is the executive board chairman and the entire executive board as well. Loyalty to journalistic work has disappeared, and along with it the journalistic evaluation of news items, investigative reports, and articles. Party newspapers have lost the mainstays and arts of journalistic work, and it has become naive for anybody to try to impose on them the requirements of the journalistic art and the dictates of the truth-seeking profession.

Party chairmen have exploited this situation well and have done a good job of employing workers in their newspapers to carry out their orders and instructions. Because party action is focused on being featured in or working in the party newspaper, most party cadres have turned into writers and journalists who court the friendship of the party chairman, who is also the newspaper executive board chairman and the man with the sole power to focus the light on whomever he wishes. It has become easy for a party chairman to use this power to accomplish various undeclared interests; to tame those who need to be tamed; to brighten the image of those he deems to be deserving; and to grant large spaces in his newspaper to whomever he wishes among people who have disregarded the various means of political action and have found it easy to assume the attribute of journalistic writers.

The game has moved out of the party, and it has become easy to use in order to achieve financial stability for the

newspaper and for the party. We have seen how some party chairmen have been able to use their newspapers to pressure certain circles and to actively criticize certain institutions and not others. The more evident manifestation is the eagerness of some party newspapers to highlight the positives and accomplishments of the other institutions that they are supposed to criticize, focusing on their negatives. Those who play this game have not done a good job of presenting the issue in an objective and unbiased manner that renders unto Caesar what is Caesar's. We, and others, watched what happened when some oil agreements were debated and when opponents' actively supported and lauded those agreements, thus exceeding in their support even those who were supposed to be the sole supporters.

The opponents declared explicitly that their support for our petroleum policy is the position of their parties and that they expressed their support on direct and strict instructions from their party chairman. Perhaps it was pure coincidence that concerted, and paid for, advertising campaigns appeared in party newspapers about oil and oil agreements, and perhaps it was also pure coincidence that organized propaganda campaigns were launched in the press to expose the negatives of other institutions that are not clients advertising in party newspapers. This attitude was so obvious and so exposed because of the absence of the journalistic art that possesses the artistic means to produce such campaigns and to make exposing them more difficult.

Some of those newspapers turned, or nearly turned, into pure instruments of pressure, not to say blackmail, and the owners of those papers went to extremes in exploiting that pressure inside and outside the party. They knew how to use another instrument of control, called advertisement commissions. They exclusively moved and directed the components of this instrument with a skill that probably exceeds their skill in managing journalistic work inside their papers.

We cannot offer here recommendations to rescue party newspapers from their current crisis now that their party identity has been shaken and that their political identity had already been shaken. Thus, these papers have become a "Frankenstein," a man turned monster or a monster wearing human attire. We hope that this condition will not last.

ISRAEL

Credibility of Iranian Regional Threat Assessed

94AA0099A Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 12 Jul 94
p B1

[Article by A. Ben: "Iran: Octopus or Scarecrow?"]

[Excerpts] The Iranian threat, in the last two years, has been the central basis of Israel's foreign and defense policies. Iran came out strengthened by the Gulf war that destroyed its neighbor-rival Iraq; in Israel, they feared its

penetration into the regional hegemony and the destruction of the peace process using nuclear weapons and long-range missiles, by their building a modern air force and navy, by the export of terrorism and the revolution, and by undermining the secular regimes in Arab countries.

Last year, Yitzhaq Rabin determined Iran to be the main threat to Israel's security. Chief of General Staff Ehud Baraq described the monster from Tehran as a terrible danger to world peace because of the threat to stability of Middle Eastern countries, the flow of oil to developed countries, and the balance between Western culture and Islam. "The Iranian regime is a danger to the global foundation of order," Baraq determined.

A Sane Alternative

Rabin decided to invest efforts and resources in the expansion of intelligence activity in the direction of Iran and to lengthen the Israel Defense Forces' (IDF) arm against the distant threats. The Air Force would be equipped with F-15E aircraft and the Navy with submarines. Israel strengthened its relations with Turkey and the Muslim republics of Central Asia. Israeli politicians presented the peace process as a sane alternative to the fundamentalism originating in Iran. But Israel failed to achieve its primary goal: formation of a regional and international coalition that would impose a political and economic blockade on Iran and would curb its dangerous desires. Israeli diplomacy did not succeed in convincing the international community of the severity of the threat.

There was a debate in Israel over how to behave in Iran. There were those who demanded seeing it as a clear enemy of Israel and taking steps toward an attack against the regime in Tehran to aid in its downfall.

Rabin did not take their advice. He adopted the line of top defense personnel, who claimed that Iran was too distant and large for Israel to contend with, itself, and, therefore, the Iranian threat should not be presented as an Israeli problem, but they should back away from them and harness the United States and its allies in Europe, Asia, and the Middle East against them.

Now it appears that Israel remains alone in confrontation with Iran, and the time has come to reevaluate its policy. The Europeans and Japanese were not alarmed by the threat, and they preferred to promote their dialogue and trade with Tehran and spread out its pressing debts. The Russians succeeded in curbing Iranian influence in Central Asian republics in which they saw a threat, but, at the same time, promised to supply Iran with advanced weaponry.

The Egyptians blamed Iran for undermining Mubarak's regime and for aiding Islamic terrorist organizations, but moderated their declarations and maintained ties to Tehran.

Last year, the United States spoke of a "double restraint" of Iran and Iraq. In Israel, it was expected that

they would treat Rafsanjani as Saddam al-Husayn and they would focus their efforts on a political isolation of Iran and impose economic pressure on them—as on Iraq—but, the "double restraint" was, and still is, debated in Washington and is not of one piece.

The Americans now tend to differentiate between Iranians and Iraqis. They are harsh and uncompromising toward Iraq. The United States proposes critical dialogue with Iran, with the promise of improving relations if the Iranians improve their behavior. The United States did not reduce trade with Iran, which amounts to millions of dollars per year.

Russia's awakening and the discovery of the Russian spy Ames among the CIA elite caused renewed concern toward the Russians in the United States. Again, there was no need for the Iranian threat to justify the acceptance of budgets for the Pentagon and the intelligence community.

Last week, a NEW YORK TIMES article was published describing the new mood in Washington. Official policy remained as it was, but sources in the government and intelligence community planted doubts in the severity of the Iranian threat. They claimed that the severe economic crisis, which caused the decline of oil prices, and the internal struggles in the Tehran regime, halted the Iranian desire to be a regional superpower. The article described a country in distress: The massive arms purchased have been stopped.

Russia and China froze contracts for submarine sales, missiles, and nuclear reactors due to financial difficulties. North Korea did not supply long-range ground-to-ground missiles. Iran did not succeed in damaging the peace process, and Rafsanjani even sent a conciliatory message: We will continue to be opposed to peace, but quietly, and we will not try to upset the process.

A Very Limited Threat

[passage omitted] Orientalists and intelligence researchers debated whether the fundamentalist movements in Arab countries are the arms of an octopus whose head is in Tehran, or whether they are the expression of internal problems of each country in itself. Israeli intelligence now also accepts the perception that Islamic movements in the Middle East are operating without contact between them, and that Iranian aid has a minimal influence over them.

Current situation assessments performed in Israel indicate two sources of threat on the part of Iran: obtaining nuclear weapons and supporting terrorism. Conventional military strengthening has slowed, and there appears to be no military risk from Iran to its neighbors in the Gulf; its influence over the stability of Arab regimes and the peace process is limited. And there are senior diplomats in Jerusalem who think that the Islamic republic in Tehran will crack by itself within five to 10 years due to internal weakness, and the threat to Israel will be removed.

Palestinian Academic on Jerusalem, Implications
94AA0101A HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 28 Jul 94 p B2

[Article by 'Amira Shagav]

[Text] "We the Jewish people, ask that you, the Arab people, give us a small part of the land of Palestine in which the Jews will be able to gain autonomy and create a state for themselves"; these words are from an agreement signed in 1919 at Versailles by Prince Faysal, the son of Husayn, King of the Hejaz, and Chaim Weizmann. The basis for the understanding they reached was economic: in return for granting their request, the Jews would pave the Arabs' way into the world's markets.

"In Oslo," says Dr. Mahdi 'Abd al-Hadi, chairman of the Palestinian Academy of International Relations (PAIR), "something very similar happened, but this time it was the Palestinians who asked the Israelis to give back a small part of their homeland in which they could have autonomy and build a state, in return for which they would pave the way for Israel to enter the markets of the Arab world."

Dr. 'Abd al-Hadi considers this analogy the starting point for every discussion of the dispute, the basis for staking out political positions in the Middle East and the roots of the historic perversion that is now coming full circle. "The Jews," he says, "never did provide the Arabs access to the West's markets. That may not have been entirely the Jews' fault. The agreement was never put into effect because of the power struggle between London and Paris, indifference in Washington and the absence of pressure from world public opinion. Today, the Palestinians have presented the Arab world to the Israelis on a silver platter. Everything is open to Israel, Morocco, Tunisia, Qatar. Even the nations of Southeast Asia have been opened to them as a result of the Declaration of Principles. But Israel is not fulfilling its obligations under the agreement."

Until about 10 years ago, Dr. 'Abd al-Hadi, the scion of a distinguished Palestinian family in Jordan that traces its origins to the Shehem-Janin area, was extremely close to the Jordanian royal house in general and to Prince Hasan, the crown prince, in particular. His uncle 'Awni served as legal adviser to the every commission of inquiry established by the British Mandate, and his father Fuad was a Supreme Court judge during the Mandate. Mahdi 'Abd al-Hadi last served in Jordan as director-general of the Bureau of Affairs in the Occupied Territories, and the walls of his office in Wadi Joz bear testimony to his family's integral place in Jordanian history since the turn of the century.

Of the personal turnaround that he underwent about a decade ago—from senior official in the Jordanian Government to one of Fatah's leaders—he is unwilling to speak. Now, as chairman of PAIR, he is considered the man closest to Faysal al-Husayni and is highly regarded as well within the Israeli left, whose members participate in the seminars and study days that his Academy holds on the future of Jerusalem.

They say at Orient House that he will be the mayor of east Jerusalem, if and when there is one, but Dr. 'Abd al-Hadi vehemently denies that he harbors any such ambitions. Asked if he does not envy his good friends and contemporaries Taher al-Masri and 'Abdallah Tuqan, who are accompanying King Husayn in Washington, he is reluctant to answer. "What interests me at this stage of my life," he says, "is the academic side of the subject, not high positions of one sort or another."

[Shagav] How do you interpret the clause in the Washington declaration that accords Jordan a high priority role in administering the holy places in Jerusalem?

[al-Hadi] Israel has done something extremely dangerous. She has, in effect, converted Jerusalem from a four-dimensional entity—religious, political, historic and national—to a one-dimensional one, solely religious. In granting Jordan authority over the Islamic holy places in Jerusalem, she has placed the realm of religion at the top of the ladder and opened the door to other questions of religion, to another wrestling arena. If, until now, the dispute had been only between the Jews and the Arabs, now other arguments will ensue among the Arabs.

"Israel will be unable to win the battle for Jerusalem when her opening move is one of 'divide and conquer,'" emphasizes Dr. 'Abd al-Hadi. "Israel must do all it can to assure that peace, stability and security will prevail in a free and open city, not a united city under one jurisdiction, but two capitals in which a common future will be built."

[Shagav] Is Jordan participating in what you call "divide and conquer"?

[al-Hadi] Jordan is protecting her interests as a principal player in the interim stage and is using, properly from her point of view, the Jerusalem card. For now.

[Shagav] It is easier for you to attack Israel than Jordan.

[al-Hadi] I am not attacking, I am explaining what Israel is doing. Israel is contradicting herself. In September 1993, she signed an agreement with the Palestinians, a Declaration of Principles that clearly established that by April 1996 at the latest, they will begin discussing the final status of Jerusalem. By her agreement with Jordan on primacy in administering the holy places, she actually is putting an end to the discussion with the Palestinians over the future of Jerusalem. She is telling the Palestinians, "What can we do? You are not alone. You have partners."

[Shagav] Will it not be easier for the Palestinians to quarrel with Jordan than with Israel, which has given her some recognition of rights to Jerusalem? Faysal al-Husayni said right after the agreement was announced this week that there must be greater coordination and cooperation with Jordan.

[al-Hadi] That is what 'Arafat is saying, that is what the PLO is saying, that is what the entire Palestinian

Authority is saying. There is full and necessary consensus on that. What is happening is that Israel suddenly is dividing up the cake. She undermines the process when she prefers a weak peace partner to a strong one. Things cannot go on that way.

[Shagav] Jordan is a weak partner?

[al-Hadi] No. Israel is making the Palestinians a weak partner. She is emasculating us by threatening our future, our capital, our birthright, our culture, our center, our religion. She is forcing us into an entirely new battle. What does it mean, "Israel has given recognition"? Israel has no right to give something that does not belong to her. She does not own Jerusalem.

[Shagav] This argument is now purely semantics. The very fact of the negotiations is emptying it of substance. Everything that is happening now is giving, yielding.

[al-Hadi] No. What is happening now is recognition of the fact that Jerusalem does not belong to Israel and that she must share it. For the past 27 years, Jerusalem has been an occupied Arab city in the eyes not only of the Arab world but also of the whole world. We agreed in the Declaration of Principles, perhaps wrongly, to postpone talks on the most difficult and sensitive problems. Jerusalem, security, refugees, water, vital economic issues. And Israel, already in the early transition stages, the test stages, when the Palestinian National Authority is just starting up, is pulling out the carpet from under it.

[Shagav] So what is going to happen in the wake of the Washington agreement?

[al-Hadi] What happened in Washington is leading us to three options. First, cooperation with Jordan at all levels and on all issues, beginning with Jerusalem, something that I regard as urgent and very valuable. Second, confrontation, here and abroad, and perhaps the Saudi camel in the end will come instead of the Jordanian horse. The third option is waiting to see how the agreement will act as a boomerang, here in Jerusalem or in Jordan, or in Israel itself.

[Shagav] Which do you think will be chosen?

[al-Hadi] I do not wish to and cannot deal with this issue.

[Shagav] Have coalitions on religious matters been formed in the Arab world following the latest developments and the steps that Jordan has taken?

[al-Hadi] So far as I know, every Arab state considers Jerusalem the capital of Palestine. The practical interpretation is now open for discussion, but that is the consensus, at all the Arab summits and in all talks. I have never heard anyone say that Jericho must be the capital of Palestine.

[Shagav] Is no one worried by Jordan? Is no one angry at Jordan? Is all the anger directed at Israel?

[al-Hadi] I will explain exactly what Israel is doing. She is doing this in two different spheres. First of all, the economic sphere. Israel negotiated with the Palestinians in Paris and at the same time was talking to the Jordanians in Washington about the same things. The whole time, Israel has had two mutually inconsistent agendas. She is doing exactly the same thing with respect to Jerusalem. To the Palestinians, she has said, "Not later than April 1996," while in Washington she is granting the Jordanians a role in administering the holy sites in Jerusalem.

[Shagav] Do you think that the Palestinians made a mistake when they agreed to put off the most delicate talks to the next stage?

[al-Hadi] I am not judging or passing judgment. I am just sketching out the course of events as I see it. The contradiction and the intent that were revealed in the economic talks have led Jordan and the Palestinians to the conclusion regarding the need to cooperate in the face of Israel's blackmail game, pressure and bad faith. This will happen, I hope, also as a result of the game that Israel is playing on Jerusalem. Israel is trying to split the unified Palestinian territorial integrity by isolating Jerusalem from the rest of the issues, emphasizing the religious aspect and separating that aspect from the city's other aspects.

[Shagav] That can be viewed another way. Israel has united the Arab world for a common struggle in pursuit of common interests.

[al-Hadi] Definitely not. What has been exposed here is Rabin's agenda. He tells the Syrians, if you do not join in, you will remain alone in the dark. He tells the Jordanians, nothing to worry about, you will be our future partners no matter what. And he tells the Palestinians, you are in the game because we have no choice. The Palestinians pledged to gain your introduction into the Arab world, and they did that. You pledged to end the occupation, but instead you are playing dangerous games that are liable to torpedo the entire process.

"The Arab world will not remain open to you," stresses 'Abd al-Hadi, "if the quid pro quo—an independent Palestinian state—is not realized soon, if the occupation continues. Everyone who accepted you thanks to us will turn his back on you if you go on with the occupation and play power games among the partners."

TUNISIA

Factors Impacting on Underground Economy Examined

94AF0249A Tunis REALITES in French 14 Jul 94
pp 17-19

[Article by Ridha Lahmar and Lotfi Ouajah: "End of the Parallel Market?"—first paragraph is REALITES introduction]

[Text] Sunday 3 June 1994, 1000. It's been a long time since anything like this has been seen in the vicinity of the Tunis central market, close by the railroad station and bus terminals. What a strange sight: streets, storefronts sidewalks, and roads uncluttered and strikingly clean. Vehicles and pedestrians have no difficulty finding a clear path, even at rush hour, and silence has replaced the usual hubbub. What is happening? Where are the hundreds of lively, densely packed stalls of itinerant peddlers hawking the hosiery, garments, and food products that are in such demand with consumers? REALITES brings you a report...

Over the last several years, one must admit the downtown areas of our major cities have changed a great deal: Stalls of itinerant merchants groan under the weight of merchandise sold at bargain prices, peddlers clog the sidewalks, inundate train and bus stations, invade the approaches to markets, harass passers-by, annoy the authorities responsible for road maintenance, and flout the organized and legal commercial system!

What's going on? How do the peddlers provision themselves and manage to sell their wares for reasonable prices? Why are they tolerated by municipal officials and the bureaucracy that regulates domestic commerce? What leads consumers to shop on the parallel market? Why are these vendors more numerous with every passing day, to the point of "asphyxiating" commercial and residential neighborhoods? Is this underground economy that pollutes public places an ominous threat to the Tunisian economy?

Favorable Juncture

The parallel economy has flourished in recent years under favorable conditions: Restrictions on legal imports, devaluation of the dinar, high taxes on imports of luxuries and products competing with local industry, visas that discourage prospective tourists from shopping, etc.

As is well known, Tunisians are bon vivants: They love good food and elegant clothing. This situation creates a demand, even a need, on the market, a need that can be met if one knows that wage increases have augmented purchasing power, especially in urban areas. However, consumers face a bewildering variety of choices, hence the search for bargains to quench the thirst for consumer products.

Now that the market is defined, let's take a look at the structure of demand: On the one hand you, have depreciation of Libya's currency and Libyan state subsidies for food products imported from Italy, Spain, and elsewhere; on the other, you have the permeability of the border with Libya and the enterprising spirit of Tunisians who become ad-hoc traders to "barter" for those goods with Tunisian products prized in Libya. A veritable network of illicit importers—wholesalers, transporters, and semiwholesalers, with warehouses and

trucks, zones of distribution and influence, and specialization in such-and-such products—provisions itinerant peddlers of cheeses, tuna, vegetable oil, coffee, American cigarettes, soaps, shampoos, foaming bath oil, blue jeans, shirts, socks, T-shirts, shoes, radio cassettes players, razors... Tunisians find the lure of imported wares irresistible, especially when the price makes them affordable. And that's precisely because Tunisian industry cannot successfully compete with imports in price or quality under current conditions: no customs duties, no taxes, no employer social security overhead, no hygienic controls on food products, etc.

Unfair Competition

The underground economy, which has always existed in Europe, Africa, and Southeast Asia, has often been seen as a sign of health and dynamism in the national economy, a sort of reaction and response to particular economic conditions, and a stabilizing factor for society as a whole. In fact, the parallel market does generate a significant number of paying jobs, and serves a social as well as economic function since it satisfies consumer needs at reasonable prices. But it can have be destructive when the phenomenon becomes so pervasive that it poses a threat to legal trade and the organized, structured channels of distribution.

UTICA [Tunisian Union for Industry, Trade, and Handicrafts], as the representative of industries and traders in the food, textile, and other sectors, has sounded the alarm more than once, hammering home the argument that unfair competition was responsible for the 20- to 30-percent decline in sales volume suffered by its textile-sector members in 1992 and 1993. The parallel market is also "fed cumulatively by two never-failing streams: commercial travelers, who on each trip—and they travel frequently, to Italy and Turkey—fill their luggage with clothing ordered by multiple clients; and goods brought in each summer by Tunisian workers returning from abroad in automobiles packed to the gills." All this, added to the trucks shuttling back and forth to Libya, is "a bit much" for such a small market.

Merchants in downtown Tunis, especially along the pedestrian walkways that serve as streets—Rue d'Espagne, Rue Charles de Gaulle, Rue d'Allemagne, Rue Mohammed Ali, Rue d'Annaba, etc.—have been literally asphyxiated by peddlers. And this has inevitably had an effect on industrial activity. Add to that the nuisance created for area residents: waste, choked roads, cluttered displays, poor hygienic conditions, food products sitting out in the open air, noise, etc... The situation had become intolerable, and the authorities had to do something to restore order—not to suppress an activity that has redeeming human and social value, but rather to implement a reform on which consensus had been reached.

Intelligent Reform

The reform adopted a year ago by the authorities was embodied in Circular No. 43 dated 26 June 1993, by

which the Ministries of Internal and Economic Affairs ordered the governors to oversee the implementation of the reform by municipal authorities. The circular was explained in terms of the need to do something about unfair competition, urban pollution, bottlenecks created by parallel-market merchants obstructing pedestrian and vehicle movement, and adverse effects on the national economy.

However, the circular also notes the constructive social role played by the parallel market, which creates jobs and builds capital for merchants and therefore should be safeguarded. Among other things, the reform prohibits peddlers from stationing carts, vehicles or wares in public places (streets, plazas, sidewalks, and roads) and from selling merchandise in such areas.

The reform also calls for collection of customs duties upon entry of merchandise into Tunisia, so that the treasury will receive its due. It would also regulate the flow of merchandise and normalize prices. Next, special facilities will be built for display of merchandise on premises under municipal control. This reform should eliminate many of the annoyances and problems presented by the parallel market, by putting physical boundaries on the phenomenon, controlling its expansion, and regulating its conduct. Peddlers will have to file applications to get stall permits and business licenses, for which they will have to pay a municipal tax of 0.5 dinars per day. But won't these new restrictions on the parallel market denature it? Won't the market lose its identity, its special charm and allure?

Can it continue to be competitive, if it has to pay taxes and customs duties? Won't screening of merchandise upon entry into Tunisia "dry up" provisioning sources and kill off a flourishing activity for lack of merchandise? How are we consumers going to survive on our modest household budgets? How will be put tuna on the dinner table—tuna, so essential for the "salata mechouia"—or Danish cheese with its subtle flavor and reasonable price, or all those other small pleasures for meager budgets? And it's so convenient to buy what you need for the next day or two on the way to or from work, at stalls clustered around train and bus stations, instead of having to make a lengthy detour!

Meeting the Challenge

The several thousand peddlers who come from the ranks of the unemployed with no occupational skills (excepting organizers and wholesalers) rely for most of their trade on the strategic locations they occupy in public places where they can offer—in some cases to aggressively hawk—their merchandise, "tempting" consumers forced to walk the gauntlet of merchants along the approaches to train or bus stations and high-volume work-places (government offices, for example). If stands in public places are prohibited, the lure of the products themselves is all that will remain: price, quality, presentation, scarcity. Practical difficulties in implementing the reform

are largely responsible for execution having fallen 9 months behind schedule. In fact, finding sites large enough to shelter hundreds of stalls, complete with adequate walkways and access routes, if not downtown then at least in the immediate proximity, has not been easy. Proper site preparation requires both money and time. After that, applications must be reviewed before approval, and public places must be watched to make sure other peddlers don't move into the sites vacated by new licensees. Peddlers thus acquire a legal status that facilitates "quality control" and "oversight" of prices as well as merchandise flows.

Objectively speaking, the parallel market is indeed an indispensable complement to normal distribution channels, providing jobs and meeting market demand. Also, hundreds of Tunisian industrialists rely on it as an outlet for factory seconds, series close-outs, and low-end products. What must be preserved is equilibrium and a sense of proportion between the two channels, each having unique features, conditions, and imperatives. Competition should be fair, respecting both the human being in his daily quest for the necessities of life and also the urban environment, but above all promoting Tunisian products and the Tunisian economy. What's important is to preserve the job base that the parallel economy affords to society without damaging the fundamental interests of our economy. The parallel market has perhaps an additional virtue, that of spurring the structured economy to respond more ably, in terms of quality and competitiveness, to consumer needs. The merit of this reform is its attempt to reconcile those divergent interests.

INDIA

Ties to Pakistan Seen at New Low

94AS0398A Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Jul 94
p 13

[Article by P.S. Suryanarayana: "Indo-Pak Ties Plunge to a New Low"—names as published]

[Text] Islamabad, July 12—India and Pakistan exchanged vehement protest notes here today plunging their continually tense diplomatic relations to yet another new low. The latest row, sparked by the Pakistani decision to ask India to "withdraw" a diplomatic officer of its High Commission here within seven days, is a sequel to India's protest over what it clearly sees as "the forcible abduction" and "sustained third-degree interrogation" of the officer by the Pakistani agencies last night.

Pakistan, however, views last night's as a case of spying, and its latest protest over the Indian officer, Mr. V.S. Chauhan's alleged "involvement in activities incompatible with his diplomatic status" follows the apprehending of a Pakistani official, Mr. Mohammed Afzal Bajwa, by the Indian authorities in New Delhi last evening.

The Benazir Bhutto administration, which has embarked on yet another diplomatic offensive against India over the Kashmir issue, lodged a strong protest with India last night over the incident in Delhi which Islamabad described as an "apprehension and physical maltreatment" of one of its accredited officials in the Indian capital.

Shortly after the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr. Najmuddin Sheikh, called the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. S.K. Lambah, to voice protest last night, Pakistan's security agencies arrested Mr. Chauhan in a swoop that India tended to see as a retaliatory action to avenge the interception of Mr. Bajwa only a few hours earlier as he was, in Delhi's view, "receiving sensitive documents from an Indian contact."

It is this complex psychological warfare that lent a sense of poignant urgency to the events today on the Indo-Pakistani diplomatic front in Islamabad. The day began with the Indian authorities apparently obtaining an independent medical report on Mr. Chauhan's health following his "interrogation" by the Pakistani agencies.

The Indian High Commission thereafter sent a protest note to the Pakistan Foreign Office. According to a spokesman of the Indian High Commission, it was pointed out that the "sustained third-degree interrogation" of Mr. Chauhan for "more than six hours" as a "blatant violation of the Code of Conduct" which the two countries had in the past solemnly agreed to observe in respect of each other's diplomatic personnel.

The protest note categorised the latest incident of "violence" as the 118th in a series of Pakistani "violations" of the Code of Conduct. The Indian authorities gave the Pakistanis a documented catalogue of all the 118 estimated infractions of the Code.

Shortly after the Indian protest note reached the Pakistani Foreign Office in the morning, Mr. Najmuddin Sheikh called Mr. Lambah for the second time in less than 24 hours in order to convey Islamabad's anger over what it saw as Mr. Chauhan's "involvement in activities prejudicial to the (national) interest of Pakistan."

This meeting lasted about 10 minutes as did their meeting yesterday night. Mr. Lambah was today told that Mr. Chauhan was "apprehended" only "while receiving highly sensitive documents from a Pakistani agent." The Pakistani demand for the "withdrawal" of Mr. Chauhan within a week was made in this context and Islamabad seems to have avoided describing Mr. Chauhan as a *personna non grata*.

Accounts Vary

The accounts given by the Pakistani and Indian authorities regarding Mr. Chauhan's arrest yesterday night vary in several respects. Pakistan's version is that he was merely arrested by its security agencies while he was "caught" in the act of receiving highly sensitive documents from a Pakistani agent (as distinct from a contact).

Mr. Chauhan was thereafter "handed over to the Indian High Commission" after "an investigation."

While the Pakistani account is one of violence-free investigation, the Indian High Commission has said, in a press release issued here today, that Mr. Chauhan, who was "abducted by the Pakistani intelligence operatives" barely "minutes after he had left the house of the Indian High Commissioner," was "handcuffed, blindfolded and bundled into a car and taken to an interrogation centre" where he was "chained, beaten up and forced to sign a document whose contents he does not know."

Mr. Chauhan, according to the Indian High Commission, was also "forcibly photographed accepting documents while seated in his car." A medical examination at the police station where he was later set free revealed that Mr. Chauhan had "suffered severe injuries," said the Indian High Commission.

Significantly, on the other hand, the Pakistani security officials have been quoted by the official news agency, the Associated Press of Pakistan, as saying that Mr. Chauhan is an "officer of the Indian security agency, RAW [Research and Analysis Wing (Intelligence Agency)]," working in the Indian High Commission "under cover" by "hunting for those Pakistanis who would come for (securing) visas" for passage to India.

The Pakistani security officials have been further quoted as saying that Mr. Chauhan disclosed the RAW agency's modus operandi (as Islamabad sees it) to instigate "sabotage activities in major cities in Pakistan" and to "create terror" at public places.

Slovakia, Russia Compete for Delhi Arms Trade
94AS0392A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 13 Jul 94
p 15

[Article by Atul Aneja: "Arms Sales: Will Slovakia Outgun Russia?"]

[Text] New Delhi, July 12—Once cold war allies, Russia and Slovakia may be becoming rivals in the arms trade, pitching for an order from the Indian army.

Both want to sell India self-propelled (SP) artillery guns and are offering the latest technology to upgrade the T-72 tanks, designed by the former Soviet Union.

New Delhi is looking for these weapons, essentially to make artillery deployments more flexible. As the name implies, self-propelled artillery does not have to be towed from place to place. The guns are mounted on an engine-driven tracked chassis.

The estimated 550 pieces of the older locally developed 130 mm guns of this type cannot meet the army's current requirements. Pakistan's purchases of sophisticated mobile gun systems (155mm. M109A2) from the United States is forcing an early decision on SP guns.

India has 146 pieces of the obsolete British-origin Abbots in its arsenal of self-propelled guns.

After evaluating several offers India is likely to place an initial order of 120 SP guns. This is likely to be followed by production under licence of another 480 systems.

Slovakia is keen on selling India its latest Zuzana SP guns which have been produced since December 1992.

An offer has also been made to jointly produce the latest version of the Soviet designed T-72 tanks, as stated by the Slovak Defence Minister at a press conference here last Friday.

The Zuzana suits the Indian army's requirement because it is mounted on a cheaper T-72 chassis, already made in India.

It can also use shells produced in the West, enabling India to source ammunition from more than one country. The weapon can fire 30 shells of 155mm thickness in six minutes to a distance of 39.6 km. A four-member crew uses a computer controlled fire control system.

Russia's 2S19 MSTA-S 152 mm. system is a leading contender in the race for these mobile guns.

But, the Slovaks also face a stiff competition from European defence suppliers vying for an order since the 1980s. In 1982, the French Giat industries demonstrated in India a 155 mm gun on a modified AMX-30 tank chassis. The Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering Ltd. of Britain entered the fray by demonstrating in the late 1980s a 155 mm gun mounted on the chassis of a Vijayant tank. Both makers recently showed that they can place their guns on a T-72 base.

India will also find attractive the Slovak offer to modernise the T-72. India is exploring the possibility of using a 800-hp Russian V-12 multi-fuel engine on the tracked chassis produced at its tank factory in Avadi.

Bengalis Display Ardent Support for Taslima Nasreen

94AS0391A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 14, 18 Jul 94

[Letters to the Editor: "How Many Are the Well-Wishers of Taslima?"]

[14 Jul p 4]

[Text]

[Letter No. 1]

After reading a forceful editorial "Taslima Is a Huge Question Mark," I wish to make some humble comments. Taslima is in danger and today she has been turned into a very controversial figure. Only 32 years old, Taslima's works *Nirbachita Kalum, Fera* and *Lajja* were written with a thorough admixture of crude reality

and philosophical outlook. These works have generated a tremendous excitement in the sea of literature and that is why today she is a target of the fundamentalists in her own country and also in India. While Muslim fundamentalists want to terminate Taslima both mentally and physically, the Hindu fundamentalists wish to exploit her in whatever way possible for winning votes in this country. But the question is: how many of them are the well-wishers of Taslima? In her own country she has to hide herself from the malicious displeasure of the government and the fundamentalists. Taslima has entered into a blind alley and at any time death can take her away. Everyone knows that if in this situation Taslima is forced to surrender, then the outcome won't be good. That will bring an irreparable loss to the bold literature initiated by Taslima, which is certainly not desirable. In this matter all the intelligent people of West Bengal and of India should at least try once to rescue Taslima. Besides West Bengal, the artists, writers and people with good senses living in different parts of India, should jointly appeal to the federal and different state governments for creating pressure on Begum Khaleda Zia's Bangladesh government regarding Taslima so that it might come to its senses.

In this context I wish to point out that the poet Daud Haider, one of my special friends, earned the displeasure of Ershad [former Bangladesh president] for composing a poem against fundamentalism and he had to escape to India to save himself from the wrath of fundamentalists. Later the Bangladesh government requested the government of India to extradite Daud for his trial. Because of the efforts of distinguished writers like Ananda Shankar Roy, Bimal Mitra and others, the government of India did not send him back and granted political asylum. Once the two of us [Haider and the writer; Bakshi] used to publish LITTLE MAGAZINE (in 1976) from Jadavpur University [Calcutta]. Daud is now in Germany. Couldn't we do something now for the security and freedom of Taslima?

Shovan Lal Bakshi, Calcutta

[Letter No. 2]

Shame, a big shame!

Next to our home we have a nation [Bangladesh] which has a great tradition, and is our pride and joy. Bengali is the mother tongue and state language of that country. To make it a state language, the people of that country once in 1952 declared a holy war against the then oppressive government and came out victorious at the cost of young martyrs like Jabbar, Rafiq, Kalam and so forth.

In 1971, we also witnessed the fighting people of that country plunge into an uneven war against a ruthless government [Pakistan] for freeing the motherland and finally achieve victory in a sea of blood, at the cost of the dignity of their mothers, sisters, wives and daughters and the lives of hundreds of thousands of youths. It removed from power a head of state [Ershad] by democratic

means and installed a patriotic woman to run the affairs of the country. This was possible only because the rights and dignity of women were recognized in that country. Then why do we now see a different picture? Why so much debate over a woman [Taslima Nasreen] of that country when she holds pen in hand? Why the show of intolerance among some people? Why are the demands made for halting, arresting and even killing that writer?

We see her books are being sold like 'hot cakes.' If in her writings it is discovered that some words and sentences are anti-state, anti-religious or provocative to the people, then the government could surely list those books and writings in the banned category. The government has that power and authority. Once during the British period many of our books were confiscated and declared banned. It is difficult to believe that a woman sitting at the helm of power of a nation is incapable of providing security to another woman. Bowing to the pressure of a handful of fundamentalists, she has ordered the police to arrest the writer. And it was reported that for self-defense the writer too was forced to go underground.

Alas, brave writer accustomed to speaking the truth!—It is not a shame only for you, but also for all of us. There cannot be any democracy, where there is no dignity for women; no respect, freedom and security for the writers, artists and scientists. I feel awfully pained to think about a woman like you—who is not anti-religious and also not anti-male, exceptionally liberal, sentimental and modern—who to keep parity with the time might have casually talked about bringing some changes in the rigid rules of religious practice. It is not a big crime! Aren't other things—accepting interest, drinking, visiting other women, expressing intolerance, forcibly grabbing things of other persons, uttering whimsically the word 'Talak' and thereby ending a long partnership of life—bigger crimes? And do they not exist in your country?

Alas, unfortunate writer! Don't be frightened unnecessarily. Come out from your hiding. You know that 300 years ago an Italian scientist named Galileo came under the extreme disfavor of Christian fundamentalists for the crime of saying 'the earth moves round the sun' and was finally forced to spend his life in prison. Only a few days ago the religious clerics gathered in Vatican City and eulogized him. Some hundreds of years hence the new progenies will also eulogize you, build your statues and set them up at the corner of highways—this I can clearly visualize.

Arjama Basu, Editor,

SAHITIYAR CHAKRA

Shiuri, Birbhum

[Letter No. 3]

The Significance of Religion

This letter is being written in reference to Rita Pal's letter relating to Taslima published on 17 June. Taslima

Nasreen is an atheist. She said: 'I have no need for religion.' The need for religion never—not even today—exists for materialistic and rational people. Basically there is no connection between religion and rationality. Some people could have the need for religion, but that is their personal affair.

Rita Pal said that different existing religious values should not be vitiated, otherwise, believers' blind religious faith would not spare anyone. But at different times, a few brave persons speaking against various meaningless religions have marched on a rational path. Taslima is brave and, thus, she has hurt a useless religion. It is not a trick to earn fame because along with her fame she has lost her personal security.

Partha Nath. Hakimpura,
Siliguri

[Letter No. 4]

Taslima stay safe

The threat of the fundamentalists to murder Taslima has alarmed all the democracy-loving people in this subcontinent. They will not pardon the Bangladesh government if it does not give any guarantee for her security or if she suffers any bodily damage.

While praying for Taslima's security I cannot but say something in reference to the Maitreyi [Chattopadhyay] article which appeared on 29 May in your Sunday Magazine section. I have intently read all the articles on Taslima. But today I have to say that whatever has been said on Taslima so far is absolutely nothing but exaggeration. In this connection I wish to state that I was once a worshiper of Taslima. I developed respect for the writer after reading her novel *Nirbachita Kalum*. Prior to this we never heard such a thunderous roar in favor of women's liberation. The Taslima-illusion [Maya] mesmerized me so much that I bought several copies of *Nirbachita Kalum* and presented them to some women with independent outlooks and well-established in their professional careers. But they in turn, while praising her writings, raised some fundamental questions. Those questions were so profound that later on I was able to come out of that Taslima-illusion.

First question: What is the principal meaning of women's liberation? Does it mean that only the women would rule the society with authority and do whatever they liked? In reality, does Taslima want to say such a thing?

Second question: In the eyes of a raped woman all men are to be hated, similarly all women are despised in the eyes of a man, who has been double-crossed by a selfish, greedy and narrow-minded woman. Does this mean that the world is defined by whatever they experience and there ends the relation between a man and a woman?

Third question: A family is made with the joint efforts of both man and a woman. In a patriarchal society innumerable women were tortured at the wrath of men. But

the time is changing and today the women have advanced considerably. The question is: Will women today humiliate men just in the same way and take revenge of the torture that was inflicted on them by men? Will that make family and society pleasant? Do women, on the whole, want such a thing?

Fourth question: Not only men but women themselves are attracted to feminist beauty. Was there any need at all to compare that beauty with the chest hairs and thighs of a man? Does not [Taslima Nasreen's allusions to this in her writing] bring her sanity into question?

In conclusion, let me refer to the novel *Lajja*. Was there at all any need of writing such a novel during a very disturbed time following the demolition of the Babri mosque [in India]? What does *Lajja* contain? A Hindu youth of Bangladesh suffering from an inferiority complex, humiliated in everything he did, decided to escape to India. Marvellous logic and a wonderful conclusion. After reading *Lajja*, I liked it at first. A Muslim writer has written on the sufferings of the Hindu minority—should not it be liked? But today I realize that Taslima is a crafty sensational writer; she wanted popularity by becoming controversial through the display of sensationalism. Maitreyi Devi, please tell me truly; what is the relevance of the novel *Lajja*? The cruel fact of the division of the country must be accepted by the minorities of both nations and it is the responsibility of the majority to provide security to them. Taslima did not find even a single person in the majority group who could provide security to that Hindu youth! If it is a fact, then I have doubts that even one Hindu could exist in Bangladesh. Besides the Bharatiya Janta Party [BJP] everyone knows that [were it so] there would be an internal war between the two Bengals. Then why did Taslima supply fuel to this as her main weapon in winning popularity?

Maitreyi Devi has condemned the slander against Taslima. I agree with her. But on the other hand, it is also a fact that Taslima's attempt to create instability in social relationships induced natural interest among the people to know more about her personal life. After reading *Nirbachita Kalum* my wife said that this woman must have been tortured, otherwise no one could write such a thing! While criticizing the slander published in the newspapers, I will also criticize pro-Taslima writers like you because year after year you have blown her trumpet and never tried to correct the mistakes of this rookie, inexperienced writer by criticizing her. On the contrary, heering her up has pushed her nearer to death. It should be remembered that if any misfortune comes to Taslima, then not only the newspapers which are spreading scandals, but also you all will be equally responsible for these consequences.

Tapa Jyoti Basu, Calcutta

[Letter No. 5]

Taslima: Both sides of Bengal

Maitreyi Chattopadhyay in her 19 June article in ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA entitled "Courage Versus Fundamentalism," claimed that even after the ghastly incidents [communal riots between Muslims and Hindus] of Adamji Jute Mill in 1964, no hostile relations developed between the two communities in Bangladesh. Yet during that period the minority community in India suffered damages over and over again in ugly communal riots.

When the India-Pakistan war started in 1965, the oppression and torture unleashed on the Hindus in East Pakistan exceeded all records of any communal riot. The demolition of the historic [Goddess] Kali Temple at Ramna took place. On the other side of Bengal [Bangladesh], facing forcible conversion to Islam and the abduction of women are daily affairs in the life of Hindu minorities. In fact, intellectuals like Maitreyi Chattopadhyay living on this side [West Bengal] do not have the mental set up to listen to their wails. They also could not easily accept Taslima Nasreen's *Lajja* and so started a fallacious debate on the literary value of the novel. They tried to hide its basic substance and the writer's statements from the general public. A leftist minister made allegations against Taslima Nasreen that by writing this book she has strengthened the hands of the Hindu 'fundamentalists'. Finding Taslima lonely and isolated, the Muslim fundamentalists in the two Bengals have vigorously launched a holy war for the purpose of wiping her out. No one will say that communal riots never ever take place in India. Any communal riot itself is reproachable. But the claim of the writer in her statement that in the Indian riots only Muslims suffer, is not correct. Why did not this 'impartial' writer mention who suffered losses and who started the riots at Khidirpur—situated in the heart of Calcutta—after the Ayodhya episode? If there was an impartial judicial inquiry on the events in Bombay, Kanpur and Surat, it would have correctly revealed who was at the root of starting those riots. The so-called secular elements do not accept the truth that like in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Muslim fundamentalists are quite strong [in India] and that is why the number of communal riots are not going down. The writer has mentioned the riots in Bombay, Kanpur and Surat, but felt shy to speak about the explosions in Bombay, Madras, Delhi and Calcutta.

The views of the writer that educated Hindus of India are ignorant about Muslim religious practices are correct. But it is difficult to say whether this ignorance is due to their fear or indifference. A zeal for discussion might crop up in the minds of intelligent people whenever they want to know more about the Sharia or Koran. Yet if those discussions do not comply with the views of maulanas [Muslim scholars], then there could develop a situation like that involving Rushdie or Taslima. Maybe it is this fear in the minds of the people [Hindus] which makes them afraid to dare walking that path.

Chittaranjan Bhattacharya, Calcutta

[18 Jul p 4]

[Text]

[Letter No. 6]

I was astounded to read a letter published in your 15 July issue written by one Jahangir Sadat on behalf of the Bangladesh Deputy High Commission [in Calcutta]. The principal definition of criminal law in England, India and Bangladesh is: An accused person is to be presumed innocent until he or she is proved guilty. It is not the responsibility of the accused to prove the charges. Everyday hundreds of people are being brought to trial on charges of theft, robbery and murder. During the trial the court expects that the plaintiff will prove the criminal guilty and never awaits the criminal to prove himself as innocent. Is Taslima Nasreen the only exception in this regard?

The Bangladesh government demands that Taslima Nasreen has to prove that she is innocent and thereby puts the onus of proving the guilt on the criminal. If someone else and not the government was the plaintiff, then the court would not have given him the latitude of deviating from the customary system.

In order to punish Taslima Nasreen under the section she has been charged, it needs to be proven that her statements were 'deliberate' and 'malicious'. I don't find the faintest trace of 'malice' in the statement attributed to her and it does not also look 'deliberate'. To state something during an interview can never be 'deliberate.'

Whatever may be the case, my personal view is that Taslima Nasreen should be provided with the full opportunity for self-defense. She should be able to appoint her own attorneys and if desired could also invite barristers from England and advocates from Calcutta. Observers from various countries should come to witness the proceedings of this case. It should be a historic trial of international significance similar to the French Dreyfus trial in the last century. In that connection Emil Zola wrote the book *I Accuse*.

I am not Emil Zola, but am earnestly requesting the Bangladesh government to give the guarantee of providing all opportunities to Taslima Nasreen in defending herself and at the same time to make dependable arrangements for her security.

No one, certainly not an illustrious writer like Taslima, wants to go underground voluntarily. She has enough reasons to be alarmed. Tajuddin Ahmed [first prime minister of Bangladesh] and his colleagues were murdered in jail and the killers were never punished. Therefore, in this case something should be done which can make Taslima believe that she will remain absolutely safe as a guest of the Bangladesh government. I don't know what lies in the mind of the Bangladesh government, but my feeling is that the government is destined to sentence her to imprisonment. If it is the case, then Taslima will remain in hiding month after month, year after year because to surrender is futile.

In reality, the Bangladesh government itself is under trial in the world forum.

Ananda Shankar Roy, President, Poets, Editors, and Novelists Association [PEN], Indian Center and West Bengal Branch.

[Letter No. 7]

This letter is in reference to the editorial: "It Is Not Only Taslima Who Is in Danger." A warrant for Taslima's arrest has been issued and you suffered pain at her misfortune. To see that the voice of the people—at least from this side of Bengal [in India]—should roar in support of Taslima and become loud in protest, you have praised her with innumerable adjectives. I am not envious of it. But have you verified how far these comments are appropriate to your impartial role?

You said: 'The same Taslima Nasreen, who without any party affiliation could be a source of pride for the nation due to uncompromising struggle with her pen for her social sentiments and for the restoration of dignity of women and oppressed people, has become an object of rebuke and hate to a section of the people—what could be more shameful than that?' Is it a fact?

If you praise Taslima's social sentiments, then I have to refer to *Lajja*—which contains only illusions and lies. She changed personal problems to collective problems, and her narrations and statistics on various events were not in conformity with the reality of the situation. That Hindus of that country [Bangladesh] do not get higher positions is also to a great extent a fabrication of truth.

If for the sake of argument I laud Taslima's social sentiments and accept *Lajja* as a proof of Hindu persecution, then we must have to admit without any hesitation that the Muslims in this side of Bengal are the victims of Hindu fraud, torture and supremacy. As a result of this, employment has gradually become a rare object for the Muslims. Your 'revolutionary' integrity was never aroused to remove this shame from your country; you remain silent and prefer to engage in feverish activities with a foreign lady. And why doesn't your 'rational' writer Taslima—whom you have decorated with sky-high honors—become vocal against inequality in this side of Bengal [India]? This has only one unpleasant reply: In that case she won't be the great attraction for the Calcutta newspapers. Even after this would you talk about your Taslima's 'social sentiments'?

If Taslima's writings and thinking are the voice of liberation for the 'oppressed' class, then how could her pen be a political tool of a Hindu majority political communal party? If her pen is a sap of truth, then why do the oppressed people in this side of Bengal feel jeopardized by the spread of her writings? Would you give an answer? In fact, your favorite writer Taslima is one of the sycophants and not a child of the needy.

If Taslima is rational, then it should not be unknown to her that hungry people want food and not freedom. The exodus of Hindus from Bangladesh to India is not due to Muslim persecution but for a desire to please the tummy. Would you call that person rational who cannot understand this stark truth of the decaying structure of Bangladesh economy? Referring to Newton, Darwin and Suniti Kumar [noted India writer], you tried to say: "We are repeatedly hearing the voice of Taslima Nasreen" but her voice is not contemporary but medieval, not rational but irrational" and should be avoided. Does Nasreen truly say the same thing [as the aforementioned notables]?

The nauseating Western system of living together excites Taslima. Such unrestrained sex is unacceptable and Indian philosophy also does not approve of it. Would you call that person whose gears are active in widening the path of unrestrained sex and who is an expert in violating laws, a savory, cultural and progressive writer? After all this, would you ask us to join the protest seeking the withdrawal of warrant for her arrest? No, that cannot be done.

Of course, there should be freedom for writers, but this cannot be without limit. Limitlessness is another name of chaos and Taslima has time and again crossed the limit.

I would request Taslima to be an humble supplicant for truth instead of hankering for fame or celebrity status. Before making unscientific, irrelevant and distorted statements she should take the lesson of telling the truth from the primary school of instinct, otherwise, the light of her hope will gradually wane.

Ataur Rahman, Law Department,
University of Calcutta

[Letter No. 8]

Shankar Lal Bhattacharya's article "Taslima, Rushdie and Others" published on 6-19-94 was very timely and relevant. In the eternal war between the sword and pen—the pen was always the principal rival to the sword's hierarchy. It goes without saying, that with the passage of time, the supremacy of the pen was recognized. Honest thinking and voices of protest have always widened the path of self-destruction. The rights of the people to have free thinking and freedom of speech were acquired at the cost of death, blood and sacrifice with the desired objective of serving humanity and not ruthless, rigid religious dictums. There are many proofs in history that fundamentalism was always in favor of identifying new thinking on religion and society, and the ideology related to it, as immoral. The writers and authors not only expose a society, but also sometimes put the society on the witness stand with a mirror in front of it with the purpose of pointing out the bloody marks of old sores under the make up. This is a part of their social responsibility. Even in the toleration of taunts and humiliations

for it, they experience a kind of a lofty feeling and spiritual exhilaration. Everywhere, societies and civilizations have undergone radical changes, yet no change has come to our inner minds.

Ashim Kumar Dey, Balitikuri, Howrah.

[Letter No. 9]

My congratulations for publishing Sutapa Bhattacharya's article "From Rokeya to Taslima Nasreen" in the Sunday Section of 19 June 94 ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA. But some factual mistakes in the article are painful. *Sultana Swapna* [*Sultana's Dream*] was not published in 1905. In that year Motichur was published and its publisher was Gurudas Chattopadhyay and Sons, 201 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. *Sultana's Dream* was published in 1908 and its publisher was S.K. Lahiri and Company, 44 College Street, Calcutta.

Moreover, it is also not correct that Begum Rokeya's writings were published only in the magazines NABA NUR AND MAHILA. In the first stage Rokeya wrote articles in the magazines NABA PRABHA, MAHILA, NABA NUR and INDIAN LADIES MAGAZINE. In the second stage she wrote in Bengali Muslim literary magazines AL ESLAM, SAWGAT, NOWROZ, MONTHLY MOHAMMADI, MOWAZINU, THE MUSSALMAN and so forth. In this regard, the writer could refer to Anisuzzaman's book on Muslim Bengali magazines. In conclusion, the statement "she had no hatred for men" is not a correct appraisement of Rokeya's artistic imaginations. Quoting innumerable passages from her writings it could be proved how severe was her anger and hatred toward men and male supremacy. In her own words she said: "I am myself crying from my 22 years of age as a most inferior creature in India". On the one side this statement manifests the difficulties, sufferings and sorrows of women; on the other, it speaks about her tremendous hatred and indignation for male supremacy.

Apurba Kumar Dey, Kakinara,
North 24 Paraganas

Experts Advise Rao on Holding of Kashmir Polls
94AS0399A Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Jul 94
p 1

[Article by Amit Baruah: "Experts Advise Prime Minister to Hold Polls in Jammu and Kashmir Soon"—names as published]

[Text] New Delhi, July 11—The Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, in a bid to obtain a full picture of the ground realities in Jammu and Kashmir, has despatched retired civil servants on confidential missions to the disturbed State.

Mr. Rao, not content with the reports filtering from usual official channels, recently asked Mr. B.G. Deshmukh, former Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister,

and Mr. M.K. Narayanan, retired Director of the Intelligence Bureau, to visit the Senate and convey their impressions to him.

According to sources, while Mr. Deshmukh paid a visit to the Valley in July, Mr. Narayanan has just completed his tour of the Valley and the Jammu region.

These inputs, coming from different perspectives, could help the Prime Minister make up his mind on the course of action to follow in the State.

Mr. Deshmukh, a civil servant with vast experience of governance, and Mr. Narayanan, considered by many as one of the most outstanding intelligence officials, are contributing to the Prime Minister's requirement of authentic information.

Mr. Deshmukh, who visited Srinagar, Baramulla and Anantnag, held detailed discussions with field-level officers in his bid to understand the difficulties being faced by the administration.

Mr. Deshmukh was apparently of the opinion that the Government should go in for immediate elections—in fact he has suggested two dates—November this year or March-April next. He is said to be of the view that conditions in the Valley will never really be "ideal" for elections being held. If, on the other hand, the administration works to a schedule and plan, something tangible may be attained.

About the Election Commission's problems relating to de-limitation of constituencies and revision of electoral rolls, Mr. Deshmukh was firm on the need for immediately beginning the process of holding elections.

The Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. T.N. Seshan, who has quashed the delimitation order, should be asked to act in the national interest, Mr. Deshmukh reportedly conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The need for holding early elections, in the opinion of Mr. Deshmukh, was dictated by the growing criminalisation of militancy, the reduction in international support and the realisation that India was not about to pack its bags and quit Kashmir.

The notion of India as a "soft State" had been shattered sending out appropriate signals to Pakistan, the militants and the people of Jammu and Kashmir.

Obviously, Mr. Deshmukh is of the opinion that restoration of popular rule is the answer to the growing disenchantment of the people with militants and their masters.

His perception that conditions will never be "ideal" for holding elections is also a tacit admission of the fact that ground conditions are not likely to improve radically in a hurry.

These inputs from former officials with vast experience in handling difficult situations would obviously go a long

way in helping the Prime Minister make up his mind on the policy options to exercise in Jammu and Kashmir.

For instance, Mr. Deshmukh has also suggested that the Kashmir issue be directly looked after by the Prime Minister's Office since it involved coordination among the Ministers of Home, Defence and Finance.

Clearly, the first sign of policy on Kashmir will be an indication of who handles the ticklish issue—the Home Minister, Mr. S.B. Chavan, or the Minister of State for Home, Mr. Rajesh Pilot.

PTI reports: Troops captured seven militants in Srinagar, two in Anantnag and one in Baramulla during different search operations. The body of a resident in Kuligam Kupwara was recovered early this morning. He was a member of the Al-burg militant outfit before he surrendered.

A militant, identified as Master Mohammad Azad resident of Kamalkote Uri in Baramulla district, was captured by security forces during a search operation. However, the militant jumped into a river and was drowned when he was being taken to a hideout for arms recovery.

Widespread Violence in Barpeta Abhorred

94AS0423B *Calcutta BARTAMAN* in Bengali 26 Jul 94
p 4

[Editorial: "Widespread Violence in Barpeta"]

[Text] Murder and mass killing is slowly taking a colossal shape in Barpeta. In the frantic frenzy of only 3 or 4 days, 75 persons were killed, innumerable injured and 56,000 people became homeless. Village after village was reduced to ashes.

Last week Wednesday [20 July] a riot suddenly broke out in the Gobardhan area of the Barpeta district in Assam. On the first day itself 16 villages were attacked. In the darkness of the night, the rioters set fire to the houses and indulged in killing and wounding people. On that very night the people of the affected villages rushed to the cities in search of shelter.

The police did not remain indifferent and tried to bring the situation under control. Even after clamping a curfew and stationing troops, the riot did not stop.

Chief Minister Hiteshwar Soika along with other ministers has come to Barpeta and set up his base there. On Saturday night, the invaders attacked a relief camp at Bansbari, situated only 10 kilometers away from his base, and brutally murdered 50 men, women and children. The correct number of how many persons were injured in that attack is not known. However, 100 of them were admitted in the Guahati Medical College.

Twentyfive relief camps were opened when 50,000 people fled from their homes following Wednesday's attack. The Bansbari camp was one of them and for security reasons the police were also stationed there. The

armed invaders cornered policemen and unleashed a frenzy in the camp. They even used light machine-guns.

The drama of such raids is not yet over. The passengers were yesterday forced to disembark from a bus and stabbed. On the other side, even parliament got agitated about the Barpeta incident. The tension is also mounting in Assam.

The leaders of the opposition political parties in Assam are demanding the resignation of Chief Minister Hiteshwar Soika because even after getting enough time he could not bring the situation under control. On the contrary, the biggest carnage had taken place in Barpeta during his presence there.

The opposition parties in the Lok Sabha [lower house of Indian parliament] yesterday condemned in one voice the incidents in Barpeta. Atal Behari Vajpayee of the Bharatiya Janta Party [BJP] said that such contemptible events could take place because the federal government did not take timely action. The Janata Dal wanted to move a resolution in the Lok Sabha demanding the resignation of the Assam government for its failure.

Soika was himself embarrassed. Despite suppression of news, whatever little is available states that a riot broke out between the Bodos [tribal group in Assam] and Muslims. Even after the state government's acceptance of the majority of the Bodo demands, indignation prevailed in their mind. But the government was not aware of it.

On the other side, Chief Minister Soika recently toured Muslim dominated areas in Assam and said that his government will fully protect Muslim interests. It seems that the brutal Barpeta incidents have taken place in order to prove the worthlessness of his utterances.

Along with the Muslims, the Bodos have also suffered losses in the past 4 or 5 days of rioting. They were also attacked and had to take shelter in the relief camps fleeing from their homes. But they attacked first. The Soika government is not agreeing to disclose why the Bodos have attacked Muslim dominated villages.

The allegations of perpetrating provocations were brought against some of the ministers in the Soika government. It was also alleged that illegal arms training is being imparted to the youths of a particular community in the different alluvial areas. Reports of the hoisting of the national flag of Bangladesh in those areas have also been received.

Tension and provocation are existing there for a long time and clashes are always taking place between the Bodos and the Muslims. A big clash took place in May last at Kokrajhar and in it at least 22 persons were killed. Two weeks ago a police car was blown up in an explosion, killing seven policemen.

The Soika government did not feel the need of keeping itself informed about the reality of the situation. There is

also no definite policy of the federal government regarding the problems of the Northeastern region, including Assam. It is obvious from the Barpeta incidents that not only the timely steps, the government has also failed in obtaining advanced information. Therefore, anxiety, disorder and uncertainties are increasing in the Northeastern region.

Stronger Government Measures in Jammu Demanded

94AS0365Z Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
4 Jun 94 p 6

[Editorial: "Understand the Pain of Doda!"]

[Text] The explosive situation in Doda district reminds us of the pathetic conditions of Punjab in 1984. Nothing is normal there. Murders, fires, looting, and kidnappings have shaken up Doda district of Jammu-Kashmir. A worse situation than this was never seen in the valley. Before we share information about the increasing terrorist activities in Doda, it is important to look at the rising graph of violent activities of the last three months in the valley. Details are given below.

14 June—Two persons were murdered in Sopore. Forty terrorists going to Pakistan for weapon training were arrested. Three agents of Pakistani Military Intelligence [ISI], were also arrested.

15 June—The chief commander of the pro-Pakistan Jihad Force was killed in a confrontation with the security forces. His bodyguard, Jahor Ahmed, was also killed in this skirmish.

16 June—Six terrorists were killed and 9 others were murdered. There was a six-hour long fight between the terrorists and the security forces.

17 June—the security forces destroyed a training camp managed by Afghan citizens in Aishmukam in Anantnag district. The Pakistani army shot cannon balls at the Indian camp. These incidents took place in the Jagir and Rajauri regions. A total of 20 terrorists were killed including 14 Afghan trainers. One person was murdered in Kupwara.

18 June—The security forces seized weapons being transported in trucks from Pakistan to create unrest in India. The fingers of kidnapped Congress (I) leader Abdul Rashed Gurjar were severed. A bomb went off in Kishtwara. The security forces killed 14 terrorists, four persons were murdered.

19 June—Ten terrorists were killed by the security forces. Seven persons were murdered. A Terrorist near the India-Pakistan border surrendered along with his AK-47 rifle. Efforts were made to blow up the television tower on Shankaracharya hill near Dal Gate.

20 June—Mir Waiz Kazi Nisar of southern Kashmir was kidnapped and later murdered. He was the chief if the Jamaat-i-Islami [JI] and had joined the Muslim United

Front during the 1984 election. About 100,000 persons accompanied his body when it was taken to his home. They raised slogans such as "Whoever wants [Kashmiri] accession to Pakistan will end up in a graveyard."

21 June—The whole valley was closed with a strike to protest Dr. Kazi Nisar's assassination. The Pakistani army fired at the Indian camps in Punch district. The terrorists killed four persons while four terrorists were killed by the security forces.

22 June—Three members of the Communist Party of India (M) and two other persons were assassinated. A bomb was hurled at a group of soldiers on their beat wounding seven soldiers. A medical college and a primary school building were set on fire near Bhadarwah in Doda district. A bomb went off in Kafli, a suburb of Srinagar wounding a CRPF soldier.

23 June—Two captains and two soldiers of the army were killed by terrorist bombs. Captain Dhanwant and Captain Kumar along with six other officers were passing through Kangan on the Leh-Srinagar National Highway when terrorists ambushed them wounding four officers and killing the two captains.

The terrorist organization Jamiatul Mujaheddin announced its banning of THE HIND SAMACHAR, an Urdu daily published by the Hind Samachar News Paper Group. A warning letter was delivered by an unknown person to Mr. Yaqub, the owner of the Abdullah News Agency in Srinagar. It is important to mention here that terrorists had started a campaign against selling the HIND SAMACHAR first in Punjab and then in Kashmir because of the tirade of these newspapers against terrorism in Punjab and Kashmir.

24 June—The terrorists killed three persons and the security forces killed four terrorists.

25 June—The terrorists kidnapped three persons from Khasal near Thitheri village in Doda district. Two of them were beaten to death and the third, Vishwanath, was murdered. A man named Mahedner Singh was beheaded in Jammu's Nai Basti. Ten persons, including five terrorists, were killed. The Pakistani army hurled three rockets on Indian military camps in Jighan sector of Punch.

26 June—The terrorists ambushed the caravan led by Srinagar's Ram Lubhaya. He escaped narrowly. Two persons were killed and 20 wounded in a bomb blast at the Doda bus stop. The army killed six infiltrators in the valley. Six soldiers were wounded in an attack on the security forces. The terrorists killed two persons in their firing.

27 June—The security forces killed 17 terrorists. Mr. H.L. Gill, assistant director of the Border Security Forces [BSF], narrowly escaped an ambush by the terrorists. The terrorists fired blindly on the pilgrims on their way to Rishi Babasaheb pilgrimage at Tanmarg killing two pilgrims.

28 June—The security forces killed 12 terrorists. Once again the security forces foiled a Pakistani attempt to smuggle weapons into the valley by apprehending a truck full of weapons. The terrorists killed six persons. The Pakistani army attacked Indian camps in Punch again.

29 June—The security forces killed 15 terrorists and seized a large arsenal of weapons. A major accident was averted when explosives were discovered on the Srinagar-Jammu National Highway in time. Six civilians were killed by the terrorists.

A terrorist organization in Jammu, Harkat-ul Ansar, threatened Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] leaders and workers into leaving Jammu immediately or facing death. This threat was also issued when the BJP had its sit-in protesting the central government's failure. After seeing the increasing activities of the terrorists in the valley, all we can say is that the situation is not under control. Terrorists are being killed and arsenals of weapons are being confiscated, however, the terrorists still are killing people, burning buildings, and kidnapping citizens.

More than 300 schools and government buildings have been burned in Doda district alone. No citizen is safe. In other words, the central government has become impotent on the Jammu-Kashmir front. The BJP has started a movement [satyagraha] on 23 June to get the Indian government's attention on this matter. The BJP leaders are being arrested and the Harkat-ul Ansar, a terrorist organization in Jammu, has threatened the BJP leaders and told them to leave Jammu even before their protest was halfway completed. The situation is definitely bad. It would not be inappropriate to write here that the terrorists have made Doda the center of their activities because they know well that security forces are not strong here. There are 650 villages scattered in the 11,691 square kilometers area. According to one estimate, about 2,000 families have fled to neighboring Himachal Pradesh because of the fear of terrorists. Another noteworthy fact is that there are 16 battalions in Srinagar now and only one battalion was sent to Doda after a promise of sending four, although Doda is much larger in area.

Anyhow, the destruction that the terrorists have caused in Doda and the inhuman atrocities they are inflicting on the people there can be understood only by the people who were uprooted from the united Punjab after the division of India and who had seen and experienced the whole tragedy. This pain was expressed in every sentence and word in late Prabodh Chander's book, *The RAPE OF RAWALPINDI*. We have seen and suffered a similar tragedy during the 12 years of terrorists reign in Punjab. Therefore, we do understand and feel "Doda's pain." We are distressed because the Center will not come forward to help! Will the visits by various ministers such as Ghulam Nabi Azad, Rajesh Pilot or others solve the problems here? In our opinion, the people who have fled Doda can think about returning there only after Doda is

put under military control, people are assured of safety, and there is no danger to their lives and property. The government has refused the BJP request to declare Doda a disturbed area. It has also refused to put Doda under military control. The BJP members also protested by walking out of the Rajya Sabha meeting. Meanwhile, the BJP protest continues under heavy guard.

Emphasizing the importance of declaring Doda a disturbed region and ordering the military to remove the militants from Doda, the BJP leaders have accused the central government of trying to give a bad name to the military by declaring that Doda was under its control. The arrests are still being made during the BJP satyagraha.

Before being arrested, Sunder Singh Bhandari, senior leader of the BJP, asked Ghulam Nabi Azad and others who oppose declaring Doda district a disturbed area, to tell the people of our nation the reason why when other areas of the state already have been declared disturbed areas. The situation in this district is extremely bad. Innocent people are being tortured and thousands of people are being forced to flee their homes.

Mr. Bhandari said that if Prime Minister Narasimha Rao feels that he has achieved a lot during the last three years and has established peace in various areas of the country, he should go to Doda and Kashmir to see the situation there himself.

He charged that the prime minister during the last three years has never visited refugee camps which are in inhuman conditions because of the failure of the central government. He said that if the situation in Kashmir and Doda does not improve, it will become an election issue during the next vidhan sabha elections.

Mr. Bhandari said that the goal of this satyagraha was to get the attention of the government and the nation to the serious situation in Doda district and to show the people in this state that they are not alone. The nation is to be told how the hired terrorists have terrorized the minds and bodies of the people here. He said that the second phase of this campaign will be decided after the 8 July meeting of the central leaders in Delhi.

How are terrorist activities increasing upon the encouragement of Pakistan and how often is the Pakistani military hurling rockets on the Indian army? What is the U.S. reaction to this whole affair? I will describe this tomorrow.

[5 Jul 94 p 6]

[Text] We can say without hesitation and with proof that Pakistan has been repeatedly conspiring to create unrest in India. Its two efforts to send weapons to the valley were foiled. However, it is not giving up. It is thinking about sending Afghan mujahids and other foreigners across the Indian border. Knowledgeable sources reveal that in order to accelerate the activities in the valley it has sent 200 notorious terrorists under the leadership of

senior ISI officer Jalil Khan across the Indian border. It was learned that at the orders of this Pakistan intelligence agency, more than 500 former soldiers have entered India to accelerate the flight of Hindus and Sikhs from Doda and Kishatwara. In addition, Afghan mujaheddins have entered these areas during the last 15 days. They total over 20,000. This has been confirmed by the statements issued by Central Home Minister S.B. Chavan and BJP leader Lalkrishna Sharma. It is said that these terrorists have been instructed to accelerate their activities in the Kashmir valley.

It was also learned that there has been a great turmoil in Badmer region of Rajasthan. Jalil Khan has entered India with 200 murderous terrorists. Jalil Khan knows every inch of India. It is also being said that the terrorists who are carrying ultra-modern weapons are raping Muslim women in the Kashmir valley while wearing Indian military uniforms. They videotape these actions and send these to other Islamic countries for spreading propaganda against India.

The proof of Pakistan helping the terrorists have been confirmed. According to a report received from Washington recently, Pakistan had promised not to help the terrorists in Kashmir and the United States had decided not to declare it a terrorist nation because of it. Pakistan has broken its promise made to the United States. This accusation was levied by Bill Malcolm, an influential [U.S.] Congressman. Mr. Malcolm said in the Congress that he wanted to bring a very important issue to the attention of the House. There is plenty of evidence to prove that Pakistan is helping the terrorists in Kashmir. Because of this proof the government had almost included Pakistan in the list of terrorist nations in 1993.

This action was not taken because Pakistan had assured that it would separate itself from the terrorists completely. However, recent reports like the WASHINGTON POST narrative sent from Muzaffarabad show Pakistani help being given to Kashmiri terrorists.

Malcolm said that the State Department has also confirmed in its latest report on world terrorism that Pakistan is helping Kashmiri militants. In addition, the report issued by the Republican Party's task force on terrorism and non-traditional weapons has also affirmed this fact. It said that the House should consider this serious issue. The WASHINGTON POST said in its report that freeing Kashmir is a sacred campaign for Pakistan which was in Jinnah's mind from the day Pakistan was established.

The report said that Pakistan was training hundreds of Arab, Afghan, and Pakistani mercenaries. Its goal is to spread unrest in India and other parts of the world. The report presented by the U.S. Congressman Bill Malcolm includes all this information. Senator Paul Sarbanes, who is a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, said that he did not think such a proposal is being presented. Earlier, veteran Republican Senator Jesse

Helms told the Committee that the administration was working on postponing the supply of planes to Pakistan.

The Clinton administration's proposal to supply 38 F-16 planes can be fulfilled only if Islamabad caps its nuclear program and destroys all related materials. This information was given by a senior Democrat.

The administration in Jammu-Kashmir is forced to provide various government information to the militants. According to a report by one agency, the officials in Jammu-Kashmir are working to protect the militants. They have to provide information about all government action and rules to the militants because of the pressures they put on them. It is not surprising that high state officials are aware of these incidents of government employees providing information to the militants. However, it is of no use as neither these government official and employees in this sensitive state have enough security nor are their families included in the security shield.

Minister of State for Defense Rajesh Pilot was not surprised when the officials tried to draw his attention to this matter in various meetings during his recent tour of Baramula, Uri, Badgaon, and Srinagar. The intelligence agencies and other officials had already informed him about this problem. Pilot's only reaction was that he would provide full security to the officials included in the hit list.

When Mr. Pilot arrived to address a meeting organized by the officials in Baramula, he had to bear the anger of about 100 officials present there. These incidents are affecting the diligence of officials working in the state. They are subjected to the pressure from terrorists while the advisors and high officials sitting in the state secretariats do not pay attention to their problems. They do not request security for their families because of the fear that these soldiers themselves might become a danger to their families. The officials in the state police and soldiers are forced to play the role of informers and supporters of the militants because they would have to pay the price for not obeying them.

The government is unsuccessful in implementing various campaigns and plans against the militants because the militants learn about the government tours in advance. The truth is that the state officials are more loyal to the militants than to the government because of fears for their security.

The Pakistani military has increased its activities near the Line of Control. They are not only firing on the Indian camps repeatedly but also targeting Indian citizens. It has become difficult for the farmers living near the Line of Control to work in their field because of Pakistani shellings. Half a dozen citizens were killed in these shelling incidents during the last month and several others were wounded. There were three members of one family among the dead. One interesting fact is that when Indian soldiers take retaliatory action, the Pakistani officials bring the UN observers to the Line of Control

and impress upon them that the Indian army is breaking the cease fire agreement. Not only this, the conspiracy to assassinate Ghulam Nabi Azad, union minister for tourism and civil aviation, was also brought to light. The plan to assassinate him was to be implemented during his trip to Doda and Chamba districts. Another important fact is that despite the mutual disagreements among the militant groups, there has been no decrease in their violent activities. The situation is analogous to "water being cold or hot, it still manages to put out fire." Thus, regardless of these militants being extremists or moderates, the citizens suffer. The militants in their mutual confrontations are kidnapping people and getting ransoms. The residents of the valley are the ones who always suffer. They are forced to flee their homes.

The militants have always been successful in using the weapon of kidnapping for putting pressure on the security forces and forcing the government to bow down and had gotten their associates freed in exchange. They have started to use this weapon on the foreign tourists also. The latest example is the kidnapping of two young British tourists which caused turmoil at the international level. Anyhow, the militant groups have disagreement on how to treat the kidnapped persons and this became accentuated during the recent incident. The Border Security Forces had just rescued Pankaj Kumar Sinha, former Bihar legislator, from the militants when the Harkat-ul Ansar, a militant group, kidnapped two British citizen travelling here. The group is formed mostly of Pakistanis and Afghans. As always, this organization demanded freedom of their associates. However, the militants do not kidnap people just to get their associates freed. This policy has another goal: To upset plans to start the political process and to get the so-called atrocities committed here world attention. It is also true that keeping headlines in the newspapers is another purpose of these kidnappings.

The kidnapping of two British citizens, David McCay and Kim Husko, was neither the first incident of kidnapping nor of kidnapping foreigners. Actually, since the militancy began in 1989, there have been 1200 incidents of abduction. This was the fourth kidnapping incident involving foreign citizens. One Israeli, two Swedes, and one French person were kidnapped before. Two of these succeeded in running away and two were freed without any ransom. The longest incident of abduction was that of Pankaj Kumar Sinha, former Bihar legislator, who remained confined for 355 days.

In the armed struggle in the Kashmir valley, the pro-independence group Jammu-Kashmir Liberation Front [JKLF] had kidnapped then Home Minister Mufti Mohammed Sayyed's youngest daughter Rubiya Sayyed and started the trend of kidnapping in the valley. This organization had always declared that no one would be abducted in this war for independence. We can understand abductions for ransom or stopping political process, however, the interesting fact is that the militants often abduct people just to get their names in the

headlines. During the last four years, kidnapping incidents have brought to light several militant groups that no one knew even existed. These groups dominated headlines by abducting a few persons and then disappeared totally. Meanwhile, Rajesh Pilot has announced that plans have been made to apprehend militants in the valley. The government has formed a three-pronged strategy to cleanup the militants active in the hilly Doda district in Jammu area. Most of these militants are foreign mercenaries. The government is under heavy pressure because of them.

According to government sources, some battalions of security forces will be deployed in under the new strategy so that the hilly region could be surrounded from all sides. In addition, the number of security force personnel will be increased in the dense jungles and two battalions of the Border Security Force will be added there.

Under this strategy, routes leading to Himachal Pradesh, especially in Chamba district, will be closed. The military official have denied any possibility of air attacks on any militant camps in Doda distiret in Jammu region.

A defense ministry spokesman said that there is no truth in the news that the army is planning air attacks in Doda district. He said that the situation in Doda does not call for such an action. Now that the situation has become explosive and BJP leaders are threatened into leaving Jammu, the bombardment of statements from Delhi has increased and the situation has become very complicated. Everyone seems to be insecure.

There is still time to see Kashmir's pain and hear Doda's pitiful cry. Unreasonable shelling by the Pakistani army, efforts to provoke the Indian soldiers, and forcing Hindus to leave the valley for Jammu and then threatening them there also are incidents which the central government just cannot ignore. The time demands action in Doda and the whole valley. This area should be declared a distrubed region or put under military control. It is the government's job to make a decision on this.

Just like the way the militant organizations have announced banning our newspaper HIND SAMACHAR in the valley, the Jamiat-ul Mujaheddin, the pro-Pakistan militant group, has declared ban on the selling of PUNJAB KESARI in Shrinagar. This ban has already been imposed and this is a serious issue. Only the militant organizations know the reason for banning popular newspapers like HIND SAMACHAR and THE PUNJAB KESARI, but we have to do our duty anyway. We also expect the government to do its duty. The hood of the terrorist-cobra in Punjab has been after all crushed. Why is it not done in the valley? We ask and beg the government to save the valley and understand the pain of Doda.

Government Inaction on Doda Unrest Scored

94AS0366A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
5 Jul 94 p 7

[Article by Punam I. Kaushis: "In the Final Analysis, What is the Center's Reasoning in Not Declaring Doda a Distrubted Area?"]

[Text] Any news related to Jammu-Kashmir always causes concern. The reason for the present worry is the explosive situation in Doda district. The violence and atrocities being committed and the laws of terrorists being imposed there are clearing signs that the situation will take a dangerous turn in the future. It is clear that the situation has become very serious here.

Doda district has become the most disturbed area now. Our government's determination and desire are being tested in protecting the citizens of this integral part of our nation. This troubled part of our country is badly affected by the jihad started by Pakistan. Pakistan wants to create unrest in other parts of India also. The fact is that their goal is to separate this Muslim-majority part of Kashmir from the Valley and Jammu. The goal of this effort is to create unrest in the whole country. The government must take appropriate action before this situation deteriorates further.

An American news release called "Kashmir Connection" was published today and it shows how much of a hand Pakistan has had in making the situation in Kashmir pitiable. Even worse is the fact that it is not only related to the terrorists in Kashmir and the rest of India, but also to the fundamentalist Islamic governments.

Islamabad sees freeing Kashmir as a goal. This is the goal which could not be attained since the time of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. There are also some other Islamic countries that support separating Kashmir from India. Actually, the real goal for these countries is to encourage Islamic fundamentalism and to strengthen it.

Can our government be successful in breaking up this dangerous conspiracy? Is not this district in a serious and dangerous enough situation that it should be declared a disturbed area? Can the situation in this district be controlled only by deploying the military there? Is not New Delhi ready to admit immediately that the situation in Doda district is much more serious than in Kashmir valley? The situation is so serious that the terrorists are fully in control there. The government is totally incapacitated there. The minorities there are extremely scared and terrorized. They are being forced to flee to neighboring Himachal Pradesh in huge numbers.

The present situation makes it clear that the armed terrorists infiltrating from the other side of the border consider Doda district a good place from where they can run their activities easily. According to one estimate, more than 1,000 mercenary terrorists from Pakistan and other countries have been active in this difficult jungle area for over one year. These terrorists are doing in this

district and around it exactly what the terrorists did in Punjab four years ago. They threaten people and are bent upon taking money forcibly and killing innocent people. The worst thing is that the evil actions of the terrorists are resulting in factional confrontations there.

The disputes that occurred and the rising differences among various pro-Pakistani terrorist groups are frustrating Pakistan. In its frustration, it is not hesitating from taking any action to increase problems for India. The violent and terrible situation in Doda district was created on Pakistan's behest, because it found that its plans were not succeeding in other areas. The anti-Pakistani feelings in the Kashmir valley have reached their apex because of Kazi Nisar's assassination. It is natural for Pakistan to be frustrated by this.

It is no secret that Doda district is much more important than the Kashmir valley from a military perspective. This area joins Kashmir with the rest of India. There is no doubt that in this second largest district in Jammu-Kashmir, with an area of 12,000 square kilometers, spread from Sarthal in Anantnag to Padur in Gul, the situation is extremely bad. At the same time, the situation in Kishtwar, Bhadarwah, and Bhalsar is also very explosive. The geography and topography of this area assist the terrorists in their activities. There are six routes in the Pir Panjal range between Doda and Anantnag that help the terrorists enter southern Kashmir easily. That is how they enter, spread terrorism, and then retreat.

Religious terrorism, which hides the real goals, is also on the rise. The distinctive feature of this district is that in its smaller cities the Hindus number 40 to 50 percent of the total population. The Hindus and the Muslims have been alienated by the spreading of hatred amongst them. The situation has worsened a lot because of recent murders, fires, and religious violence. Both groups hate each other now and the government is watching this whole situation silently and helplessly. The Hindus are being forced to flee Doda district because of the violent activities of the terrorists.

Sheikh Abdullah was aware of the economic, historical, and military importance of this district. In 1940, he wanted the Chenab instead of Pir Panjal to be the border between Kashmir valley and Jammu. That is why he had divided Udhampur district and created this new Muslim-majority district of Doda. He wanted to divide Laddakh also to end direct connection of Laddakh with Janskar region. He wanted to extend it to Kargil which was a part of Balistan where Shia Muslims lived.

The main goal behind all these efforts was his dream for a greater Kashmir. His dream was not realized, but problems for India increased daily. This whole region is a victim of terrorism now.

It is unfortunate that despite government assurance, no action to deal with the terrorists was taken here. Most of the Hindus from here have fled to Chamba district in

Himachal Pradesh. If this trend continues, this area will also become a stronghold of the terrorists like Kashmir is now. Especially, when the government turns its eyes away from it.

Regardless of the situation, the government is unable to understand how to deal with this double jeopardy. Religious harmony is essential as is dealing with terrorists. It is important to push the terrorists away from the hilly areas. Several plans were implemented to this end, however, the government has failed in establishing religious harmony and stopping terrorism. In this situation, we do not understand why the government does not declare this region a disaster area. By declaring this area disaster area under the law, appropriate action can be taken here.

Home Minister Chavan said in a recent statement that the government was seriously considering declaring Doda district a disaster area. The military will get all the special privileges when this region is declared a disaster area. This was said on 19 June, however, he changed his mind after 12 days. Later he said that only the government will be given these special rights to deal with the situation.

It appears that the government is under pressure to use the old policies to deal with this situation—deployment of more Border Security Force troops. No efforts are being made to evaluate the situation as to where our government's policies are taking us. Our being forced to send more troops and Border Security Force men because of the present situation created by the terrorists in Kashmir will make only Pakistan happy. In the present situation in Kashmir, the Indian military is not considered a security force.

The three strategies being used to control this situation—reducing violent activities of the terrorist, protecting human rights, and starting a political process—have proved to be ineffective despite all the claims [to the contrary]. There is concern that if the government declares Doda district a disturbed area, this would be viewed as the failure of its policies. If the situation worsens, the groups outside of Kashmir will benefit and will try to make it an international issue. The government is puzzled and Doda district is terrorised.

In the political corridors of North Block they ask why should they drown their whole political boat by doing this at a time when vidhan sabha elections are scheduled in 10 states and decisions about their fate are being made? This game is being played to keep the Muslims happy and satisfied. No doubt, the government is trying its best to lure back this group after the Ayodhya incident, even though this policy was not successful during the recent elections. It is surprising that the Congress Party has never tried to attract the [Higher-Caste] Hindus. It is focusing on the Dalits, Kurmis, and Yadavs.

What will happen next? It is clear that the military has a difficult challenge in Kashmir and will have to make a

long journey to reach its goal. Not only in the valley, but in other terrorist-ridden regions, it is facing equal challenges. It is important to take well-planned and aggressive action that can make the terrorists realize that they are waging a losing war. Six police posts have already been established in the Pir Panjal range and joint military campaigns are being launched from Pathankot, Chamba, and Bhadarvah.

The government is also trying to maintain religious harmony. New Delhi has to make sure that this war being fought for freedom does not change into a bloody civil war between the two groups. It is especially important this time around because some other Muslim countries in addition to Pakistan are helping terrorists. They are fully with the fundamentalists to aggravate the tension here and divert people's attention from their daily lives, and are helping them.

In summary, New Delhi cannot be confident in starting political process here for long. We have paid a high price because of the slow government action. What has happened and is happening in Doda must be viewed very seriously. Otherwise, this situation will spread to the valley and Laddakh in Kargil region. This situation reminds us of an adage, "When a man becomes a fanatic, he becomes crazy." That is what is happening to Pakistan. Today, there is unrest in Doda. What will happen tomorrow? We cannot say anything. Is there any one paying attention to it all?

Mamata Banerjee Supporters Seen Faithful, Fervent

94AS0423A Calcutta BARTAMAN in Bengali 26 Jul 94
p 4

[Article by Rantidev Sengupta: "Another Name for Popularity is Mamata"]

[Text] No one will be able to disregard the fact anymore that Mamata Banerjee is the name of the most popular leader of the state of West Bengal. Like during the 25 November 1992 Brigade meeting, she has once again established proof of her popularity both inside and outside her party at the 21 July Shahid Minar gathering. The critics could criticize her politics, but they won't be able to sidetrack by their discussions her popularity and the peremptory power of hypnotizing the public. The same Mamata Banerjee has once again at the 21 July Shahid Minar meeting foiled the attempt to repudiate her popularity.

As a result of police firing on 21 July last year on a campaign launched by the Youth Congress [Led by Bannerjee] to blockade the secretariat of the Writers Building [State Parliament], thirteen Youth Congress workers were killed and in its protest march on 21 July this year, the Youth Congress called a meeting at the Shahid Minar grounds to express their contempt for the killings. Although the meeting was called by the Youth Congress, its success in fact depended on Mamata's

charisma which has been established today both inside and outside her party. But on the eve of the meeting called by Mamata Banerjee on 21 July, one question that different circles brought up in a big way before everyone was: As Mamata's meetings mean trouble, will the 21 July gathering be peaceful? While raising this question, they repeatedly magnified two incidents. One of them was the police firing during the blockade of secretariat on 21 July last year and the death of 13 persons; and the other was the police firing on the Youth Congress workers for defiance of laws at Barasat in February this year which resulted in the death of one person. While expressing their apprehension as to whether or not Mamata Banerjee's 21 July meeting this year would be peaceful, they time and again focused on these two incidents as examples. It cannot also be denied that their raising this issue in a different manner certainly caused a slight fear and hesitation in the minds of the people about the meeting.

Not only the ruling party [Communist Party of India-Marxist CPM], but also a clique in her own party [West Bengal Unit of Congress (I)]—with whom Mamata has to fight regularly—was behind the creating of fear and hesitation among people regarding the meeting. Mamata's meetings mean disorder and riots—such propaganda was carried on for a long time by the CPM and this time too they launched the same propaganda just before the meeting. Soilen Dasgupta, secretary of the West Bengal CPM State Committee, said before the meeting that this time too, with the motive of creating disorder Mamata Banerjee is uttering provocative things. Just one day before the meeting even the GANASAKTI—the daily organ of the CPM state committee—wrote that the fear of disorder surrounding the meeting exists in the mind of all circles. Although not so overtly like them, a section in her own party was making full efforts to prove that Mamata's meeting was for the purpose of creating trouble. To accomplish this task a high ranking member of the State Congress Committee even rushed up to Delhi and tried to postpone the 21 July meeting for the time being by influencing Delhi party leaders, but in the end did not prevail.

In other words, the president of the state Youth Congress had to confront two challenges prior to the 21 July meeting. One of them, of course, was to prove once again through this meeting, without raising any skepticism, her popularity both inside and outside the party. And the second one was, to make the critics understand that the creation of disorder was not her only objective. Mamata this time was quite careful and mature from the very beginning in accomplishing these two tasks. To make her meeting successful by assessing the crowd, Mamata held separate discussions with the district leaders of the Youth Congress and also organized street gatherings. At the same time to give an orderly look to her popular meeting, she urged her party workers from the very beginning to remain peaceful and restrained. On the day of the meeting she also took in her own hand the responsibility of maintaining order. And by doing so

Mamata came out with flying colors meeting both the challenges. The appearance of the 21 July gathering was so huge and overwhelming that it could be a source of envy to any political force. Despite bad weather, strict order was maintained throughout the meeting. Even standing in knee deep mud and water, Mamata cadres looked after the meeting and no one dared even for a minute to be disorderly.

But then why was propaganda raised again and again prior to the start of the meeting and how valid was it? Certainly there is a need to seek the answer. I had the personal experience of witnessing several of Mamata's meetings and with that yardstick in hand the fear and hesitations raised in connection with these meetings could be examined. After being assaulted at the hands of CPM supporters at the corner of the Hazra road [in Calcutta] on 16 August 1990, Mamata set out on her first district trip in January 1991. During that trip she first visited Cooch Behar and Shiliguri in North Bengal and I witnessed it. The first protest meeting and defiance of law organized at Mamata's call in Cooch Behar, practically paralyzed the whole city. In that meeting of hundreds of thousands of people Mamata could within a moment turn tipsy-turvy the whole of Cooch Behar city on that day. But as she did not do so, the district administration also displayed their sense of responsibility. They announced the arrest of all persons in that gathering, but later released them. Thereafter, in the course of her tour Mamata went round different districts and noticing the popularity of the meetings the district administrators everywhere followed the instance of Cooch Behar. Even just a day before staging defiance of law in Barasat in February last, a meeting was held in Malda city and there too the public remained under control due to the efforts of the administration and Mamata .

Leaving aside her district trips, a big meeting was held surrounding Mamata when she visited Balurghat in the beginning of this year following the death of a school teacher at the hands of CPM supporters and the loss of life of a student in police firing. Although an extremely tense situation was prevailing in the whole of Balurghat city, no untoward incident took place there on that day due to Mamata's arrival. In the beginning of this year, two persons lost their lives in the police firing at Tarapur in Birbhum district. Following the incident Mamata also rushed to Tarapur. The situation there was explosive but no untoward incident was reported surrounding Mamata. Not a single report of disturbance has been received from the huge public meeting at the Brigade ground on 25 November 1992.

Citing only two incidents among all those meetings, Mamata was again and again put on the criminal stand as the creator of disorder. Let us scrutinize the two incidents about which mention has been made time and again. The meeting and defiance of law organized at Mamata Banerjee's call in Barasat also was of tremendous size. Like other districts the Youth Congress there

made only one demand to the Barasat district administration and the police; that they should announce the arrest of all those present at the meeting. The police and the administration of other districts accepted this demand and thereby avoided tension. But the police superintendent of North 24 Paraganas district at that time did not accept it and as a result tension increased and the police and Congress workers clashed. Thereafter the police entered a hospital and in their firing a Congress cadre lost his life. When police and Congress cadres clashed on the day of observance of blocking the secretariat on 21 July last year, the police at first made a reckless baton charge and injured quite a number of Congress leaders and cadres, including Pankaj Banerjee. Then after scattering the gatherings of the Congress workers with teargas and baton charges, it suddenly opened fire. Due to their erratic firing a person standing on the roof of a sweet shop in the S.N. Banerjee Road, was injured. Even when they made allegations that the Congress followers were attacking with bombs and locally made guns, it was discovered from the police hospital report that all policemen were injured by bricks. The police also remained indifferent when anti-social elements unleashed a frenzy in the whole of Dharmatola [place in Calcutta] area in the same afternoon following the clash.

A few days after the Barasat incident, Mamata again called for a meeting there to express her contempt. That gathering also got widespread support, but no untoward incident was reported. After last year's 21 July incident Mamata held a meeting at Esplanade East on 21 August. There too, despite the huge meeting, no untoward incident was reported.

While putting Mamata Banerjee on the criminal's stand, some people mention a third incident related to the by-election for the Ballyganj legislative assembly seat. All the political parties made allegations of rigging and terror involving that by-election. Badshah Alam, election agent for an aggrieved CPM candidate Swapan Chakraverty, was attacked by the police on that day. Even Bharatiya Janta Party [BJP] did not back away from making allegations of rigging. So Mamata Banerjee was not the only complainer on that day in connection with the Ballyganj legislative assembly by-election.

After minutely scrutinizing all these events, does it come to mind that Mamata Banerjee's only objective was to create trouble and disorder? If that was her only objective, then why would there be trouble only in two or three meetings out of so many she held? If the creation of trouble was her only objective, then why would the meetings held in district after district be peaceful? From those meetings the same Mamata Banerjee could start a war-front everywhere! Would there be any disorder if the police and the administration in Barasat could be slightly careful and wise on 21 July? Why should we have to reach a pre-determined decision about Mamata Banerjee's motive by selectively picking only two or three from her moneybag containing credit for organizing so many meetings?

But still Mamata Banerjee has been placed face to face with these questions and challenges. After assessing her popularity, she was placed there with the objective of creating severe obstacles on the path of established leadership, symbolizing her as a street fighter without giving her the deserved political importance and above all, causing confusion and fear in the minds of people for the purpose of reducing the size of her meetings. This motive become quite evident when a veteran member of Mamata Banerjee's party questioned the purpose of setting up a 'martyrs' fund'. However, answering all these question on 21 July this year, Mamata Banerjee has proved that she is not a mere street fighter; her leadership has been established in the face of innumerable criticisms and she knows how to hold the rein for giving leadership.

As Mamata could establish herself by replying to all these challenges, she has likewise gained great importance politically after this year's 21 July meeting. The concept of Mamata as an outcaste in the eyes of the Delhi Congress leadership has been completely crushed after the presence of R.K. Dhawan—an influential Congress Working Committee member—in this meeting. Dhawan has come not only to the meeting, but also mentioned tMamata with great praise and said that he has taken part in the meeting at the orders of the prime minister. The presence of Dhawan and his speech have proved one thing; a powerful section of the leadership of the central Congress Party is with Mamata.

Mamata has gained substantially from this year's 21 July meeting. While projecting her own political maturity, she was also successful in obtaining the support of the central leadership of the party. These two things will be the main sustenance for her long and arduous journey in the future. But along with this, Mamata has to work for one more thing with wisdom and sagacity, and that is to create a constructive proposal while engaged in criticism. She has to tell the people about the preferential treatment she plans to give to Bengal and what constructive ideas she has in her mind. Only by presenting this alternative blue print could she become a genuine leader.

The people who witnessed the 21 July Mamata meeting standing in the knee-deep water, waiting hour after hour under the heavy rain, and maintaining complete discipline at the orders of their leader, now want to hear from their leader that alternative, constructive message and Mamata must give that message.

U.P. Government Seen Threatened by Conflagration

Impasse Facing BSP, SP

94AS0367A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 12 Jul 94
p 1

[Article by Pradip Singh: "Mulayam Saved the Government but is Indebted"]

[Text] Mulayam Singh saved the government but lost a lifetime's political gains. The entire political scene of Uttar Pradesh has changed with this one step of his. In Lucknow's Begam Hazrat Mahal Park yesterday, Kansi Ram, by granting some additional grace period to the government, destroyed the personal image of Mulayam Singh Yadav and the reputation of his government. Kansi Ram has responded to Mulayam Singh's efforts during the past month to break up the Bahujan Samaj Party [BSP]. Mulayam Singh ate both onions and shoes [Did what he had to do but will pay the consequences]. He is yet to pay damages, but only because Kansi Ram has not yet fixed the date for this.

Whatever image Mr. Yadav may have had, even his opponents respected his stubbornness. Mulayam Singh never hesitated to betray even his friends for political gain. In fact this weapon has played an important role in his political achievements. But even his opponents will be hard pressed to find an example where he tolerated disgrace for political gain. But Kansi Ram revealed a new face of Mulayam to his supporters and opponents - one in which Mulayam is willing to be disgraced to any extent as long as he retains power.

Actually Kansi Ram has never missed an opportunity to disgrace Mulayam ever since the talks of the Samajwadi Party [SP] coalition with the BSP. But these incidents were attributed to Kansi Ram's arrogance and Mulayam's tolerance. Mulayam's status rose with this. It was believed that he was enduring this disrespect to save the government, formed on the slogan of social justice by Dalits and backward classes. His opponents and critics called this his political astuteness. It was said that he was generating sympathy for himself even among BSP supporters.

What happened on July 9 and 10 wiped out Mulayam Singh's political gains of decades. On July 9 Mulayam Singh appeared in Kansi Ram's court as a criminal. He presented his defense, admitted his mistakes, and promised to make amends. Despite this, Kansi Ram did not show any mercy on July 10. Kansi Ram declared publicly that Mulayam Singh was ready to accept all his conditions to remain in power. Mulayam Singh did not even hesitate to throw out Dr. Masood's belongings at 11 pm - the same Dr. Masood who confronted Kansi Ram at Mulayam's behest in order to save him from his own party's Mayavati - even though Dr. Masood could legally stay on in the ministers' residence for six months. Sixty ex-ministers have been occupying government residences for years. However Kansi Ram has not so far ordered that their belongings be thrown out.

By disgracing Mulayam and saving the government, Kansi Ram has caused the biggest defeat ever in Mulayam's political career. If on July 9 Mulayam Singh had shown a little self-respect and had refused to accept Kansi Ram's humiliating conditions, his status would have risen. By surrendering he even lost the respect of his supporters. This step of his will change the political

equation in the state. On July 10 in Begam Hazrat Mahal Park, Kansi Ram, by announcing that he would not let floor-crossing legislators live in peace, warned the BSP legislators who were preparing to do so that they would only take this step at the risk of their lives. Now Mulayam Singh's designs to divide BSP legislators to remain in power have been neutralized.

BSP's rally against floor-crossing has eliminated the threat of a break-up among Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] legislators. The rally has not only benefited the BSP, the BJP has gained both politically and psychologically from it. All BJP attempts to weaken Mulayam Singh politically have been in vain so far. Kansi Ram did in one day what the BJP could not do in seven months. The July 10 rally was going to decide who between Mulayam and Kansi Ram would emerge stronger. Had Mulayam Singh emerged stronger, the BJP would also have weakened. Mulayam's grip on backward and Muslim votes would have been stronger. Having defeated Kansi Ram, Mulayam would have been able to take away a large group of BSP legislators, while scheduled caste voters would not avoid him as before.

Now everything will be the reverse of this. Rifts among BSP and BJP legislators ceased, and both parties gained psychologically. Mulayam's reputation will also decrease among the backwards and especially the Yadavs. The reputation of his government has been destroyed. Mulayam Singh will lose his hold on the bureaucracy already divided among SP-BSP supporters. Mayavati, against whom he created many plots, will now be much stronger and will control him.

The way Mulayam Singh behaved with Dr. Masood on Kansi Ram's orders will certainly affect his Muslim supporters, because one of Dr. Masood's allegations was that Kansi Ram is encouraging Mayavati who insults Muslims. By throwing out Dr. Masood's belongings, Mulayam Singh has not improved his status among Muslims. During the two-day sequence of events, Mulayam Singh lost his personal reputation as well as the hold on his support among voters.

After what has transpired between Mulayam Singh and Kansi Ram, there is no possibility of their relations becoming normal as before. Who starts the next attack remains to be seen.

BSP Alienates Muslims

94AS0367B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 5 Jul 94
pp 1,5

[Article by Hemant Sharma: "Muslims Beginning to Draw Away from BSP"]

[Text] Because of the fresh turmoil in the BSP, Muslims have started to shun the party. They have taken being called traitors by Mayavati very seriously. The partisan Muslim leaders of the United Dalit Muslim are also agitated on this issue. This was evident from the massive crowd that gathered yesterday in Kanpur's Bakenganj to

listen to Dr. Masood. Masood is getting huge support in his campaign against Kansi Ram and Mayavati. During yesterday's Bakenganj meeting, which lasted well past midnight, the Muslims passed a resolution by show of hands that Kansi Ram must choose between Mayavati and the BSP within 15 days.

Dr. Masood held yesterday's meeting at the same venue where on April 5, while shouting aloud for Dalit-Muslim unity, Kansi Ram had called Mahmood Gaznavi a savior of the Harijans. The same crowd gave Masood a hero's welcome. Mayavati's confidante Shakir Ali had organized a meeting at the same Beri intersection to wash out Masood's influence. When the difficulty arose of who should organize the meeting, two notorious Bakenganj criminals Atiq and Shafiq organized the minister's meeting. Only the police came to this meeting. Despite this, someone threw stones at the stage. The meeting organizers, Atiq and Shafiq are active members of Billoo-Bale criminal gang. They were released only last month on bail.

Actually the support Masood is getting from Muslims belongs to Mulayam Singh instead of Masood. Dr. Masood is cashing in on Mulayam Singh's image in his meetings. The issue he has picked is that the Mulayam government must function under any circumstances. He claims that the real root of the conflict is that Mayavati does not want Mulayam Singh's government to exist, while he and his supporters want it to run. The local SP branch also fully supported the organization of Dr. Masood's meeting. The local SP minister Ashok Dixit even gave a speech from the podium in support of Dr. Masood. This was Dr. Masood's first meeting after his resignation.

The Muslims' strong inclination towards Mulayam Singh's government was evident in the meeting. The crowd gathered because Dr. Masood is backing Mulayam Singh Yadav and is trying to save his government. Scathing allegations were leveled at Mayavati in the meeting. Dr. Masood strives to attract Muslims by proclaiming Mayavati a BJP agent. He says that Mayavati has talked to the BJP leader Lalji Tandon - this communication took place via Jayant Malhotra. That is why Lalji Tandon dutifully supported Mayavati and Kansi Ram's rally against floor crossing. Almost all speakers said in the rally that Mayavati is playing into the hands of the BJP. "Who did Mayavati help by interfering with BSP votes during the legislative assembly elections, which resulted in a loss for the SP candidate and victory for the BJP candidate?" Dr. Masood asks.

Many Muslim leaders unhappy with the BSP and Mayavati gathered in this meeting. These especially included Sheikh Suleman and Mujukul Hasan, Diwan Raghunath Singh Lodhi, Bharat Singh Baghel, and Ardi Saroj (all separated from the BSP), and ex-general secretary Mohammed Islam. The meeting started at 9:30 pm and continued till 1:30 am. Islam appealed to the Muslims,

"You must boycott the rally on the tenth. This rally is against Muslims and against Mulayam Singh Yadav." Past Delhi BSP convenor Mujikul Hasan was agitated because Muslims had been called traitors. He said, "If Kansi Ram can organize his race, why can't Dr. Masood prepare his? We will organize our race and respond to Mayavati."

While on one hand the speeches emphasized allegations against Mayavati, it was also stressed that Muslims must generate their own leadership. Why are we dependent upon an untrustworthy leader such as Mayavati? The party's past legislative assembly leader Sheikh Suleman said, "The crowd indicates that a revolution is underway against Mayavati. This woman sold my ticket to Congress for cash. Muslims are being traded in the BSP." He was also agitated about the fact that the BSP does not have a constitution, a treasurer, or even a treasury - Mayavati grabs all the money.

"Dalits and Muslims have awakened; the thief-bandit has run away." Amidst this slogan Rakib Naseem demanded that the party can only be rescued if Mayavati is expelled immediately. If Kansi Ram does not do this then we will be forced to question what weakness forces him to agree with everything this woman says. Meeting chairman Hamid Wali Sahab also said that only if Kansi Ram punishes Mayavati will Muslims be sympathetic again.

Dr. Masood enumerated in detail all the issues due to which he had to quit the government. Masood said, "I am in your court. There is no court greater than the people's court. I have been charged with dishonesty. You have known me since 1984. I am now where I was then. But Mayavati, who used to live in a cell in Bulandshahr, now owns a 500 million rupee house in Delhi's Shalimar Bagh. There is another mansion on Humayun Road. There are three Contessa cars. Who is dishonest? Masood or Mayavati?"

BSP Faces Internal Rift

94AS0367C Jaipur RAJASTHAN PATRIKA in Hindi
8 Jul 94 p 8

[Editorial: "Division of Opinions Within BSP"]

[Text] The internal differences within Uttar Pradesh's Bahujan Samaj Party are constantly increasing and the party's discontented leaders and legislators have even started publicly expressing their dissatisfaction. Only a few months after the formation of the SP-BSP coalition government tensions had started arising between the parties, and now due to BSP president Mayavati's statements the party's internal conflict and strife are acquiring a violent form. This week in Lucknow, in a gathering of the discontented at the initiative of former minister Dr. Masood, there was such sharp criticism of the BSP chairman Kansi Ram and Mayavati that the very existence of the coalition government is now in danger. Although the numbers of the discontented are

not so large that the leadership of Mayavati and Kansi Ram can be challenged, the seeds of strife have certainly been sown. The hostility of minorities against the BSP leadership is very clear and this revolt started with Dr. Masood's resignation. Based on Mayavati's comments in recent days against minorities, it was natural that they would lose their affinity for the party. The successive resignations of many senior Muslim leaders from the BSP are a clear signal that internal discontent in the party is accelerating. The biggest surprise is that party chairman Kansi Ram has been silent in such a situation.

The BSP's goal was to unite the backwards and the Dalits and to organize the minorities to build a new society. To this end it had spread communal hatred. It would be reasonable for any party to help the backward classes advance, but creating racial animosity will encourage bitterness instead of building an atmosphere of harmony and propriety, and this can not benefit the nation in any way. If along with this animosity the minorities are also provoked, the party leadership needs to estimate how lethal the results of these actions will be. Whatever the reasons, the BSP is neglecting its goal and is encouraging racial and communal enmity for political gains.

The future of the coalition government depends on the BSP's support. If BSP leaders try to take undue advantage of this then the coalition cannot last long and the cycle of political instability in the state will start anew. Although the Congress (I) is supporting this coalition, there are deep differences on this question even within this party. As far as Mulayam Singh is concerned, he is definitely trying to keep the coalition intact and his party organized. But the interference of BSP leaders, especially Mayavati in administrative affairs is also creating ire among SP legislators. How long will Mulayam Singh tolerate this interference in order to save his government? This is an important question. The chief minister must also ponder this question. Kansi Ram and Mulayam Singh share equal responsibility for keeping the coalition intact. If Kansi Ram does not arrest the increasing discontent and factionalism in his party then not only will the party split, serious dangers will arise for the state's coalition government. The letter BSP rebels have sent Kansi Ram criticises him for his silence over the party's condition and warns that many difficulties will arise if he does not act on time. It would be a mistake to assume that the SP-BSP government will be able to provide a functional administration to Uttar Pradesh while their mutual bitterness continues. The arguments among them will only weaken the government.

The Bahujan Samajwadi Party is continuing on the basis of casteism. Any party that creates hatred towards another category or community to gain the support of any particular category cannot form a permanent public support base for itself. This may give immediate political gains but overall the nation will not benefit. The country today needs politics of harmony and propriety, instead of division and separation. Only that party can have a strong place in public that has the capability to unite all.

Kansi Ram and Mayavati cannot evade the allegation that they have given their party a racial basis and they wish to maintain their existence on this basis. Nobody can deny that in this country many groups have been exploited, and also that it is necessary to liberate them and bring them to the same level as others. However if a path of conflict is attempted then the consequences will not be good.

Mulayam Seeks BSP Split

*94AS0367D Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
11 Jul 94 p 6*

[Article by Manmohan Sharma: "Mulayam Sees Slothfulness Within BSP: Even After Lighting a Fire; Kansi Ram is Unconscious"]

[Text] It is often said that Lohia-followers are unable to practice the politics of joining up with others and then breaking away because they are stubborn and direct, but Lohia's special disciple Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mulayam Singh has proven this wrong. The seeds of rift he has quietly planted in the Bahujan Samaj Party are about to bear fruit. The anger permeating the party against Mayavati due to her behavior and volatile temperament has gained a noisy response with Mulayam Singh's encouragement. BSP's Muslim activists have openly rebelled under the leadership of ex-education minister Dr. Masood Ahmed. Several other legislators and leaders irked by Mayavati's behavior have also joined the rebels.

The flame of rebellion within the party has numbed Kansi Ram. It is not possible for him to abandon Mayavati, while a large section of party activists is not willing to accept Mayavati at any cost. Mulayam Singh Yadav, having ignited his own supporters, is now watching the drama. Mulayam Singh has denied that he has any part in this BSP conflict. But he has announced that no rebel from the BSP will be inducted into the Samajwadi Party. However the rebels have announced that their leader is Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav, and that they will not allow his government to be affected. They have also alleged that for the past three months Mayavati has been trying for the fall of the present Mulayam Singh government, but said that they grant their protection to Mulayam Singh's government so that it is sustained for the full five year term. Mayavati has charged that Mulayam Singh is helping split the Bahujan Samaj Party with the help of the Congress and BJP, but she will never let his wishes be fulfilled. The Mulayam Singh government will be overthrown momentarily.

Mulayam Singh Yadav has understood Mayavati's changing tempers - he has therefore struck a friendship with the Delhi administration. In recent days Yadav secretly met Prime Minister Narasimha Rao in Delhi. It is said that Rao assured Yadav that he should not worry, his government will not be harmed under any circumstances and President's Rule will not be imposed in

Uttar Pradesh against his wishes. Mulayam Singh Yadav has assured Narasimha Rao of all kinds of cooperation. He has also promised to gather the masses for the Congress rally to be held in Delhi July 14. The Congress Governor Mr. Moti Lal Vora, situated in Lucknow's presidential palace, certainly does not have the courage to disobey the directives of the Congress chief.

A majority of Uttar Pradesh's Congress leaders are demanding that Congress support be withdrawn from Mulayam Singh Yadav's government. Mayavati has even called Mahatma Gandhi the son of the devil. Congress members are also angry at the way she is spreading the poison of racism in Uttar Pradesh. Public support for the Congress in Uttar Pradesh is rapidly dwindling due to Narasimha Rao's policies. The knowledgeable assert that if this situation continues, the Congress will be wiped out from the nation's largest state in the next elections. The Prime Minister recognizes the bitter truth that if the Congress withdraws support from the Mulayam Singh government, the Congress will be wiped out in the subsequent elections and the BJP will come to power. This situation is not acceptable to him.

The Story of Kansi Ram and Mayavati: 57 year old Kansi Ram is primarily related to a scheduled caste family from Punjab's Ropar district. He obtained his B.Sc. from Ropar. After this he went into government service in Pune, but could not get along with the officials there. He resigned and came to Delhi. Delhi's journalists know him since 1977, when he lived in a room in Raigarh. His office and residence were located there. He had formed "Bomsai" to unite government workers from scheduled castes and tribes. Later he constituted the "D.S.-4." In a year he converted this to the Bahujan Samaj Party.

As far as Mayavati is concerned, she is a native of Bulandshahr. She was born in Delhi. Her father worked for the post office. After completing her matriculation in 1977 she took up a level four position in the Delhi Municipal Committee's social welfare department. Subsequently she completed her B.A. and law. She came into contact with Kansi Ram in a conference in 1977. Since then the two have been close collaborators. Both are unmarried, therefore rumors about them abound.

Kansi Ram has always liked his name published in the papers. Therefore he is always up to something. The basis of his politics is to incite various classes of society against each other. At times he called Gandhi a sworn enemy of the scheduled castes, at others he calls himself the opposer of Brahmins and the Brahmanic establishment. He has incited the scheduled castes against the higher classes to gather their votes. These days he claims to be a follower of Ambedkar, whereas once he was bitterly critical of Ambedkar. Candidates of his party hold the record for losing their deposits. In the 1990 Lok Sabha elections he fielded 240 candidates, of whom 215 lost their deposits. The same has happened to him in State assembly elections as well.

He had fielded Mayavati in the Bijnoor by-elections. Her opponent was Mira Kumar. Babu Jagivan Ram's daughter Mira Kumar won the election and Mayavati lost. Subsequently she contested elections from Hardwar but there too she was badly defeated. In 1989 she was elected to the Lok Sabha from Bijnoor, but lost in 1991. Now she is a member of the Rajya Sabha thanks to Mulayam Singh's grace.

Kansi Ram too lost whenever he ran for elections. In the Allahabad by-elections he lost badly to V.P. Singh. He also lost badly in the 1989 elections. He has reached the Lok Sabha using Mulayam Singh's crutches. Now critics say that for both Kansi Ram and Mayavati the saying rings true that "the empty vessel makes a lot of noise."

Kansi Ram has always ignited the flame of communal hatred to firm up his votes. Whenever he spoke in gatherings in Bijnoor, he began thus, "If any Brahmin or Baniya is present in this gathering he may leave because we do not want his vote." In the same election he gave the slogan, "Jatavs and Muslims are brothers - from where did the Hindu race come?" In recent elections he coined the slogan, "Forehead marks, scales, and swords - strike them with shoes."

Sensing the environment, Kansi Ram started infiltrating Muslims and backward classes. He struck an election deal with Mulayam Singh. A combined platform of Dalits, Muslims and backwards was formed in the State that brought the SJP and the BSP into power.

At the moment, Mulayam Singh Yadav is quite popular among the nation's Muslims. The reason for this is that a common Muslim considers him [to have been] a defender of the Babri Mosque. With the waning of BJP's power in Uttar Pradesh, Muslims are beginning to feel that only Mulayam Singh can stop the BJP from coming to power. It is notable here that the Muslims of western Uttar Pradesh did not vote for the SJP and the BSP like the other parts of the State -they supported the Janata Dal. Mayavati claims that if Muslims had supported her in western Uttar Pradesh, she would have gained an absolute majority in the Uttar Pradesh assembly.

First a struggle ensued between the State's backwards and Dalits. 242 people were killed in this. The persecutors of the Dalits were mainly Yadavs - this created tension between the BSP and the SP. In Uttar Pradesh transfers of officials and workers have been a major source of income for politicians. It is said that hundreds of officials were transferred under pressure from Mayavati and Kansi Ram. Officials of backward classes were removed from positions of income under pressure and Dalits appointed in their place. Because of greed for power, a person like Mulayam Singh had to follow Mayavati's instructions. Mayavati calls herself the super-chief minister, whose function is to supervise the activities of the chief minister. Kansi Ram calls himself the maker of Uttar Pradesh's destiny. The extent of Mayavati's and Kansi Ram's intoxication with power can be gaged from their speeches and news interviews.

Mayavati says that the Muslims are traitors. They have betrayed the Bahujan Samaj Party by not voting for it. She also claims that Brahmins are controlling the Congress. Pramod Tiwari is the representative of the Brahmanic society. If he wishes to withdraw support from the Mulayam government he may - we never asked him for his support. Her 'boss' Kansi Ram states, "Narasimha Rao is also a Brahmin, therefore he is our enemy. The Congress is supporting us because it has to." These two instructed legislators not to vote for SP candidates in the legislative assembly elections -therefore many of Mulayam's candidates lost. Mayavati said that Mulayam Singh Yadav's lieutenants are involved in breaking up the Bahujan Samaj Party. Our party is not the Janata Dal. If he breaks our party, the government will not be allowed to go on even for an hour.

Open Rebellion in the Bahujan Samaj Party: It was difficult for Mulayam Singh to tolerate this any more. In Kanpur Kansi Ram began attempts to steal Mulayam Singh's Muslim vote bank. Therefore Mulayam Singh Yadav made his move, and incited BSP's Dr. Masood Khan.

He claimed that he had inducted five thousand Urdu teachers, and connected Urdu with means of livelihood. Three thousand Muslim schools were recognized and a decision made to give them grants similar to public schools. Dr. Masood said that it had been promised that participation would be granted on the basis of the population of each group, but this formula was never implemented. If 25 BSP members were made ministers, of them 4 should be Muslims, but only two Muslims were made ministers. Of eight Zila Parishad chiefs, only one is a Muslim. Large scale nominations were made for committees such as district cooperative banks etc. - Muslims were only given 7

participation in them whereas the Muslim population is 17

. He claimed that when he pointed out this breach of rights to Mulayam Singh, he was rebuked and told that if Muslims insist on rights, he will be expelled from the party by his ear. He said that he did not accept his slavery and therefore rejected the ministership. Immediately on receiving this letter, Kansi Ram dismissed him from his post and had Shakir Ali appointed the new education minister. With this, the Bahujan Samaj Party's Delhi coordinator and the party's Uttar Pradesh president Islam also resigned from the party.

In response, Mayavati accused Masood of venality and called him the opposer of Dalits and Muslims. She said, "If we were against Muslims, we would not have fielded 42 Muslims in the elections."

The rebels held a conference in Kanpur, which some leaders of the Samajwadi Janata Party also attended. Mayavati's tape in which she had called Muslims traitors was also played in this meeting. There was a massive gathering at this meeting.

The rebels were encouraged by the Kanpur meeting. They organized a conference in Lucknow and have demanded that Mayavati be expelled from the party. They have also demanded that Mayavati's wealth be investigated by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. They also demanded that social welfare minister Raj Bahadur be made the leader of the BSP legislature.

20 BSP legislators participated in this conference. Notable among these are Umakant Yadav, Sangram Singh Yadav, Faujdar Prasad, Mohsin Khan, Safdar Raza, Lal Mani, Arshad Khan, etc.

It was also alleged that Mayavati is trying to become the Chief Minister with the help of BJP leaders. She has met with Govindacharya and Sangh Priya Gautam. It was also stated that before coming to power Mayavati used to live in a cell, but today she owns wealth amounting to millions of rupees. Mayavati has wasted millions of rupees contesting elections over nine years.

Several prominent SJP leaders were also present in this conference. This confirms the allegation that the Chief Minister is behind the present crisis in the BSP.

Kerala Communists 'Isolated' Over Namboodiripad Remarks

94AS0404A Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English
8 Jul 94 p 5

[Names as published]

[Text] Thiruvananthapuram, July 7—A comment made by the veteran CPI(M) [Communist Party of India-Marxist] leader and Politburo member, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad, that Mahatma Gandhi was a "religious fundamentalist" and his drawing a parallel between Gandhi and the leaders of the PDP [expansion not given] and the Indian National League, rocked the Kerala Assembly today.

The Marxists found themselves isolated in the House which divided over the issue.

Mr Namboodiripad, in his weekly column in the CPI(M) organ DESABHIMANI while analysing different shades of religious fundamentalism that surfaced in India since Independence, had referred to Gandhi's attitude towards religion.

An attempt made by the CPI(M) to prevent the issue from being raised in the House failed and significantly, was not supported by its allies in the Left Front—the CPI [Communist Party of India], RSP [Revolutionary Socialist Party], Congress(S) and Janata Dal.

The CPI(M) members rushed to the well when the Speaker, Mr P.P. Thankachan, overruled their objections to the submissions given by the Congress(I) members.

When the Speaker allowed its submission to be made, Mr Menon sought to raise a point of order saying the

submission was in violation of established norms and would set a precedent which could result in a plethora of submissions relating to various comments made in different publications.

He also said Mr Namboodiripad, not being a member of the House, was not in a position to defend himself. He welcomed the ruling front to seek redressal from the judiciary. The Assembly was not the forum to debate the issue and submissions were not the way to raise it, Mr Menon added.

Mr Thankachan expressed his willingness to hold discussions in his chamber on the procedural issue but the Marxists insisted that the House be adjourned before a discussion could take place.

However, there was confusion in the Opposition benches since the CPI(M) had not discussed their strategy with their allies.

A fresh uproar was witnessed when the Congress(I) member, Mr George Eaden, hurled choicest abuses at Mr Namboodiripad. Mr Karunakaran intervened to say that no bad comments should be made about Mr Namboodiripad. The member withdrew his remarks.

UNI adds: Mr Namboodiripad today denied he had denigrated Gandhi in his article.

In a clarification issued here he said he had made it clear in the article the grounds on which he had called Gandhi a "religious fundamentalist."

He said religious fundamentalism meant according prime place to religion in examining all social and cultural issues. In that sense, the heads of all religions were religious fundamentalists. If one were to treat all religious fundamentalists as untouchables, one might have to sever ties with religious communities.

He said it was in this context that he had termed Gandhi, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Bal Gangadhar Tilak as religious fundamentalists. He also clarified that these leaders did not use their religious perceptions to drive any wedge between religions, but only mobilized the people of all religions against British imperialism.

Focus in Congress-I Election Efforts Noted

94AS0400A Bombay THE SUNDAY TIMES OF INDIA in English 10 Jul 94 p 10

[Article by M.D. Nalapat: "Congress Game Plan for Another Term"—all quotation marks, names as published]

[Text] New Delhi, July 9—Three years down the road the P.V. Narasimha Rao team has changed its focus from surviving for a full term to getting re-elected for a fresh one.

In tune with the Prime Minister's low-key style, few of the plans and strategies get discussed outside 7 Race Course Road, the joint nerve centre of both the Union

government as well as the Congress party. However, private soundings reveal the outlines of the Prime Minister's game plan for ensuring a stint in power for seven more years.

The Prime Minister feels that his most significant achievement has been to cool down the tensions raised to fever pitch during Mr V.P. Singh's tenure-forward-backward caste passions, divide between Hindus and Muslims, urban-rural controversies, Hindi-English tensions and insurgency in Punjab and Assam. All have now abated to levels no longer posing a problem for the state, and the credit for this is being attributed to the "consensus politics" of Mr Narasimha Rao.

However, 7 Race Course Road is aware that more than this and other achievements, it is the weaknesses of the opposition that have improved Congress chances, the Janata Dal has collapsed, and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] is today "a party in search of an issue." There is therefore a "negative gain" for the Congress in all this, which should become evident in the elections to five state assemblies that are due in November.

Of these five states, the Congress is expecting to do well in Arunachal Pradesh, while Sikkim is a question mark. In Andhra the twin benefit of the split in the Telugu Desam and the recent weightage given to backward sections in the Vijay Bhaskar Reddy ministry are expected to result in a squeak back to power. However, the crowds turning out to listen to Mr N.T. Rama Rao and his wife, Mrs Laxmi Sivaparthy, are uncomfortably large, and so, while publicly confidence is exuded, in private the mood is more sombre.

As for Karnataka, it is accepted within 7 Race Course Road that the chief minister, Mr Veerappa Moily, has not been popular with his colleagues, and that the political mood in the urban areas is against the Congress Party. However, "the rural base is still intact" and the Congress is expected to scrape through with a majority.

In Goa, reports have reached the Congress president that the chief minister, Mr Wilfred De Souza has created an impression among the Hindus that he is not even-handed in communal matters, and this may cost the Congress party its ministry should the MGP [Maharashtravadi Gomantak Party] and the BJP form an alliance. The chief minister has therefore been advised to be more tactful while dealing with communally sensitive issues.

The real question mark is Maharashtra. The chief minister, Mr Sharad Pawar, is likely to opt for a November poll in that state, and though the public face of the Congress party is optimistic, there is recognition that the 'Khairnar factor' has significantly dented the party's image. Thus Mr Pawar is unlikely to get his way in the distribution of tickets, despite his request to 7 Race Course Road to be given a free hand. Ever since his brief stint in Delhi, Mr Pawar's base within the Congress party in Maharashtra has proved itself capable of shifts, and this has led the high command to keep the state under careful watch.

Mr Narasimha Rao has asked each Congress MP [member of Parliament] to give a profile of the assembly segments falling within his constituency. He has been asked to detail the issues agitating the public mind, as well as list out major local newspapers and influential individuals and their attitude to the Congress. The MPs have also been asked to list out the Congress and opposition promises made to the electorate, and how many of these have been kept. The reports are to be submitted by July 25.

Another decision cleared by Mr Narasimha Rao is to set up an apex level publicity committee for the coming assembly elections, that will oversee publicity and propaganda. One observer will shortly be sent to each assembly constituency going to the polls, who will remain in the area till the votes are cast. His duty will be to alert the high command about possible candidates, and also do firefighting missions such as patching up conflicts between rival Congress leaders. Other observers have already been sent to eleven states, who have given 7 Race Course Road a panel of three to four names for selection as PCC [Pradesh Congress Committee] presidents. It is expected that these appointments, along with a major cabinet reshuffle, will take place by the third week of this month, after the July 14 rally.

Inflation Rate Corrected to Nearly 12 Percent

94AS0393A Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Jul 94
p 1

[Text] New Delhi, July 12—Though the political fuss over the rising prices has more or less died down, it now turns out that the actual rate of inflation is nearly 12 percent and not around 10 percent as was made out on the basis of provisional figures. Moreover, double digit inflation had crept into the economy within a week of the budget presentation on February 28 this year, and not in April as was thought earlier.

Final figures for the annual rate of inflation on a point-to-point basis reveal that inflation reached 12.1 percent by April 23, whereas provisional figures indicate a maximum inflation rate of 11.1 percent recorded for the week ended May 7. Moreover, the rate had crossed the double digit range as early as on March 5 when inflation was recorded to be 10.3 percent, up from 9.5 for the week ended February 26. Since then, there has been a consistent climb for inflation, the rate rising to 11.3 percent by April 2.

By April 23, it was 12.1 percent after which it dipped a bit to 11.8 percent for the week ended April 30, last date for which final figures are available as yet.

Provisional figures, however, give out a maximum inflation rate of 11.1 percent recorded for the week ended May 7. After that, the provisional figures indicate a fluctuating trend with the rate going down to 10.28 percent, then up to 10.42 and again slipping to 10.22 by

June 25. The final figures are likely to be higher though, going by trends available so far.

Battle Over Use of VANDE MATRAM in Delhi Viewed

94AS0420A Jalandhar PUNJAB KESARI in Hindi
29 Jul 94 p 6

[Article by Prem Bhartiya: "The Respectful Place of VANDE MATRAM: Delhi's BJP Government Doesn't Need to Get Caught in This Dispute"]

[Text] The old saying "Come slap me" applies in all earnest to Delhi's Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP] administration. This administration has ordered all students of all public schools under its control to recite "Vande Matram" together daily in the morning. In issuing this order the state government has initiated a discussion that could have been avoided. The government order does not preclude any school and Chief Minister Madan Lal Khurana has asserted that he is committed to enforce this order of his administration.

On one hand, the chief minister's order appears to be superfluous and on the other the quick reaction from the former Indian foreign service officer and now Member of Parliament from Bihar Syaid Sahabuddin appears surprisingly adversarial and childish. As an spokesman of the Muslim community he has protested the order of the Delhi administration. He argues that making the recitation of the "Vande Matram" compulsory will hurt the feelings of his community. It is said, that in support of his argument he has listed two main reasons. None of these seem to carry any weight and do not do justice to the illustrious wisdom and background of this parliamentarian.

Syaid Sahabuddin says, first of all, the necessity of saluting the mother country is against Islamic tradition which forbids bowing one's head to anyone except Allah. None the less, this song, written by Bankim Chandra Chatterjee for his book *Ananda Math*, was sung for the sadhus as a group song in revolt against the then Muslim ruler of Bengal. It is in vain to say that the sadhus were Hindus and, therefore, this song clearly harbors impressions of communalism.

Anyone who has read *Ananda Math* or anyone who understands the meaning of "Vande Matram" knows that it is not actually necessary to bow one's head, but it simply means to greet or salute. On the contrary, even if it is assumed that it becomes necessary to bow one's head during salutation, Said Sahabuddin's reasoning does not appear to be against the normal custom of bowing one's head in front of the past Muslim rulers of India. The subjects of old Muslim rulers, in order to pay their respects and to honor their ruler, used to bend down up to their waists. These subjects included Muslims also. It, therefore, appears that this member of parliament from Bihar "Doest protest too much".

As far as the question of the revolutionary Hindu sadhus who sang patriotic songs is concerned, they were protesting against the taxation excesses of the ruler. The name of that ruler was Meer Zafar whom history records as a British puppet and a traitor. Today it is unthinkable to praise him and for anyone to cite his name with regard is beyond imagination. He had entrusted the collection of tax to the British East India Company. The quoted revolt was against the tyrant principles of collection. It is also true that the followers of the Islamic traditions and religious Muslims do not regard Meer Zafar as a model ruler.

It appears that Syaid Sahabuddin has stretched the Muslim conviction of sensitivity a little too far. As a politician, to safeguard the Muslim interests, he has every right to be a spokesman of Muslims. And he often does it unequivocally. But the subject that he has seriously objected to clearly demonstrates that his knowledge on the issue is totally wrong. In so doing he has bestowed a weapon on the BJP and Delhi's chief minister for use against the Muslim community.

The intent of the chief minister in issuing the order, Said Sahabuddin has challenged, is not apparent from his statement that the opening sessions of both chambers of the parliament and the Delhi legislative assembly begin with a citation of "Vande Matram". Should the Delhi schools adhere to this example when most of the schools start their day with a prayer or a song of their choice and appropriate for the occasion? And if a uniform rule is really necessary, then why not use the national anthem "Jana Mana Gana"? Said Sahabuddin has suggested that if an order has to be given in this regard then the concerned schools should be furnished with a list of songs and the responsibility of selecting a choice should rest with the school.

It seems to be the opinion of the Dehli's BJP government that "Vande Matram" reflects more patriotism than the national anthem. The melodious and eminent wordings used by Bankim Chandra Chatterji in praise of the Motherland and in depicting his loyalty are living proof of this fact. The readers may recall that the Constituent Assembly had considered this entire issue and had judged "Jana Mana Gana" as more appropriate to be the national anthem as compared to "Vande Matram", and had adopted "Jana Gana Mana" as the national anthem.

This was a compromise. I had witnessed the members' arguments for and against the song from the public gallery. Many allies of "Vande Matram" were of the view that "Jana Gana Mana" was blemished because Rabindra Nath Tagore had composed this song acclaiming the British sovereignty and as such it was not suitable as the national anthem of free India. Jawaharlal Nehru was with the majority which favored "Jana Gana Mana".

The debate on the issue of the right song for Delhi schools has recently reached Dehradun. In addition to the famous Doon school the city houses a dozen or so distinctive schools for girls and boys. At the urging of

some political parties a movement is underway to get "Jana Gana Mana" introduced in all schools. These schools may, however, practice differing principles or methods of teaching. In other words these schools may include Christian convents too. This debate has yet to touch "Vande Matram", but who knows when this Delhi issue may catch the attention of these revolutionaries.

In Lahore during the twenties, the day in my school started with a song "Sare Jaha Se Accha Hindustan Hamara" (Our India is better than rest of the world) by Alama Iqbal. The freedom movement had not yet heated up, but the youths of that time used to sing this song with great vigour. Its sound is still alive in my ears. This song lost some of its popularity when Iqbal established himself as one of the prominent founders of Pakistan. But this song was never fully abandoned. The school where I got my education was D.A.V. (Dayanand Anglo Vernacular) institute and there also was no opposition to this song of Iqbal's.

We had a proud Central Model School in our vicinity. It had both Muslims and Hindu students. Here the day did not start with Iqbal's nationalist song instead it started with a prayer meaning "Praise the God who made this universe". All students sang it together. This school being an institution run by the British government at that time, and other similar institutes in Lahore and at other places, could not digest Iqbal's nationalist songs. The song "Sare Jaha Se Accha Hindustan Hamara" is still recited at many places in India, and our armed forces band still plays it on many different occasions.

Still today "Vande Matram" ranks high with reverence on the list of old time patriotic items. The Delhi's BJP government should not have brought it as the subject of an unnecessary debate. The Delhi's BJP government has more important things to do for the citizens of Delhi. They are still waiting for the fulfillment of the attractive election promises made by the BJP. But it is obvious that in the vocabulary of the politicians it is more important to earn paltry popularity than to be constructive.

IRAN

Mojahedin-e Khalq Attacked for Anti-Islamic Behavior

94LA0227A Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Jul 94 p 2

[Text] When the leader of the hypocrites was frustrated 13 years ago by the failure of his mission to create a disturbance on 30 Khordad 1360 [20 June 1981] and was afraid of the anger and aversion of the masses of millions loyal to Islam and the revolution, with the help of the Western nations, who had and have the hypocrite leadership under their control, he fled Iran for Paris.

In an interview with the counterrevolutionary publication IRANSHahr, which was published in those days by Ahmad Shamlu in America, he described the revival of Islamic life in Islamic Iran as follows:

"A demon that has been sleeping for almost 1,400 years in the depths of Iran's history has been liberated from the house of darkness at the peak of its mass popularity and spiritual and religious power."

In this interview, which must be described as the "admission of error" by an agent who failed to those who ordered the mission, the leader of the hypocrites announced clearly and without the slightest concealment that the goal and the primary objective of the attempts to create disturbances, the assassinations, the bombings of public places and the other crimes the hypocrites have committed is to fight Islam, an Islam that, according to the leader of the hypocrites, "had been asleep for 1,400 years." and came back into public life after the triumph of the Islamic revolution "at the peak of its mass popularity and spiritual and religious power."

In the black and shameful record of the hypocrites many examples can be found of their clear admission of hostility to Islam, which can be described as an "epic work on 500 pounds of paper," which is beyond the limits of this short article.

After the frightening calamity at Ashura [22 June] in Mashhad and the bombing at Imam Reza's (peace be upon him) pure shrine, which martyred and wounded a number of innocent pilgrims, through the awareness of the intelligence forces, which our late Imam called nameless soldiers, another hypocrite element was caught who was planning to bomb the Sunni brothers' Maki Mosque, and yesterday two other hypocrites were arrested while planting a bomb at the chaste shrine of Her Holiness Ma'sumeh and His Holiness Imam Khomeyni.

The chain of other hypocrite activities shows more than ever the ugly and despicable face of the slaves of Israel and Saddam. It also illustrates another important point, which is the West's impoverished inability to fight Islam, because the hypocrites are too small and abject to be in control of themselves and to make decisions with their own desire and will. A passing glance at their black and entirely criminal life shows clearly that this minigroup has no greater role to play than that of "professional mercenaries" and "hired killers."

Therefore, just a simple thumbnail calculation shows that in addition to the necessity of eradicating the hypocrites as professional mercenaries, there are two other necessary and vital steps to be taken (1) finding the central group creating the plots and (2) learning the goals and objectives of the plotters.

It is not such a difficult task to find the main center for the plotting and the group ordering these fearsome crimes. The recent savage actions were direct and unconcealed opposition to Islam and the followers of the Islam if Mohammad (peace be upon him). Who and what group are damaged by the rapid Islamist activities, which today are taking place throughout the world? America? Israel? These two crime centers merely have different

geographical borders, but in reality they are two faces of a single ugly and despicable reality.

Along with this, although the name of Iraq also comes up and is also significant, the root of this group's crimes and the goals it pursues must ultimately be sought in America and Israel. Although the mercenaries committing the crimes come from Iraq, and they did, and although Iraq made the preparations, and there is evidence of that in hand, Iraq also is a mercenary for the West in this episode, as it is in many other despicable episodes, such as the military attack on Islamic Iran.

The goal of the plot must be seen as the enemy's desire to sow discord among Muslims, and this is a longstanding wish of the sign-carrying enemies of Islam and the revolution. In light of recent events, this poisoned arrow has also struck stone.

However, the episode remains, and needs to be pursued. It first demands a grave confrontation with the supporters of the mercenary hypocrites and murderers, and second it demands more intellectual work among the Muslim nations that follow different religious paths.

Planned Division of Bosnia Called Anti-Islamic

94LA0229A *Tehran KEYHAN* in Persian 9 Jul 94 p 16

[Article by Qodratollah Rahmani: "Islamic Conference, Reaction in face of Bosnia Division Plan"]

[Text] The meeting of the leaders of the seven Western industrialized nations began yesterday in Naples, Italy. They will discuss issues such as economic growth and the problem of unemployment in member nations. At this meeting the question of Russian membership in the G-7 will also be discussed.

Apart from the main areas of focus in the talks, a special subject to be analyzed by the Western industrial nations will be the latest plan to divide Bosnia and Herzegovina in the framework of the nations which belong to the contact group, and a decision will be made with regard to it.

In view of the fact that the result of the decisions of the world's dominant nations concerning the Balkans will undoubtedly be the sacrifice of the interests of the oppressed Muslims of Bosnia, in a radio-television message the president of Bosnia asked the member nations of the Islamic Conference to put pressure on the Western nations in order to defend the sovereignty and solidarity of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A study of the plan to divide Bosnia as the last possible solution to the bloody crisis in the Balkans in the framework of a special conference composed of the economically powerful nations will make sense only with a proper understanding of the framework of the structure of the new world order.

According to the UN charter, the preservation of international peace and security is one of the most important

responsibilities of the United Nations and its relevant secondary organization, the Security Council. Today that goal has been sacrificed in the worst way possible in part of the former Yugoslavia, and the growing crisis in the Balkans has made seriously questionable the UN's competence to resolve great international problems.

The passivity of the organization responsible for maintaining world peace and security in the face of the savage aggression by the criminal Serbs was so disappointing that after the Serb bloodbath in Gorazde was ended, politically aware people predicted a future similar to what befell the League of Nations for the United Nations, and the organization's secretary-general also openly acknowledged that the UN's system of deterrence has become ineffective.

Today it is clear and proven for everyone that the international community has failed in its main and essential goals of maintaining peace and security in the framework of the existing bodies. Such a bitter reality has expedited the "replacement" cycle, though the UN's external structure and its affiliated organizations will remain in place a little longer. "International democracy," which was imposed on the imperialist powers as the result of the determination and effort of the Third World nations since the 1960's and whose main manifestation was in the achievement, however shallow, of the principle of "equal sovereignty of governments" in the form of a "majority" system in the UN's General Assembly, is giving way once more to a system of "consensus" among the great powers in the new system of international relations.

In other words, the new world order will not wait for the firm political will of the world's governments to form in order to face international events and regional and extraregional crises. To solve any international problems, an understanding among the leaders of the powerful nations, whose particulars may be subject to change with regard to any specific issue, will be sufficient.

Based on the above changes, the plan for the geographic division of Bosnia, which has the aim of ending the bloodshed by the criminal Serbs in return for land concessions and the dispersion of the region's Muslims, is being made outside the traditional framework for resolving military hostilities.

There is no doubt that if the group of seven Western industrial nations, who will have the Russian government as an ally on the Bosnia issue, are unanimous on the division procedure, one will have to expect an end to the war at the price of fragmenting part of the geography of the Muslim world.

In the regrettable conditions that prevail in international relations, no hopeful horizons are to be seen behind the pleas for help from the oppressed Muslims of Bosnia, which have been made by their president of the republic to the Islamic nations, especially in view of the fact that

the record of the member nations of the Islamic Conference Organization [ICO] is quite disappointing where the Muslims of Bosnia are concerned.

A careful look at the situation shows that there is no serious political will among the member nations of the ICO to intervene effectively in the Bosnia issue and to make efforts to change the oppressive balance in favor of the region's Muslims, or if such a will is superficially manifested, there cannot be that much expectation that these positions will be put into action. We must accept the fact that the outlook is not bright for a response to the cries of the oppressed and tormented people of Bosnia.

Unfortunately, the mix of countries making the decision concerning the future of Bosnia is also such that there is not even one country among them that has any motivation to defend the legitimate rights of the Muslims. Rather, all of them are in agreement about unraveling the geographic arrangement and changing the religious and historic structure of this part of the former Yugoslavia.

In this regard, the ICO, as the largest and most important organization in today's Muslim world, has completely left the way open for the achievement of imperialist goals by the imperialists. Naturally, in such a situation, the Western supporters of the Serbs have validated expansionism. They have put the seal of approval on Serbian aggression and crimes and will complete them by means of the unjust divisions of Bosnia.

It is incumbent upon the Islamic nations in this sensitive time to compensate for some of their shortcomings and failures regarding their coreligionists in the heart of Europe in the last three years, by taking a firm position against rewarding the aggressor. The calamity of Bosnia has revealed the regrettable disunity in the world's Muslim community. The Islamic governments, to at least diminish the extent of their condemnation before history, must decisively condemn the decision made by the supporters of the Serbs.

Finance Minister Details Key Economic Issues *94LA0233A Tehran ABRAR in Persian 2, 3 Jul 94*

[2 Jul pp 1, 4]

[Interview with Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Dr. Morteza Mohammad-Khan by ABRAR; place and date not given]

[Text]

Influence Peddling Prohibited; Taxes Are Just, I Collect Them

Soon all the sales operations of the guilds will be required to be handled through a cash register (cash box). If they do not conform to the system, they will be fined.

Economic Service: After the initial greetings, as soon as we turned on the tape recorder to start the interview,

with a gesture from Mr. Seyyed Morteza Emami, the director general of public relations, another tape recorder is turned on and placed next to ours. I do not take seriously this lack of trust in us on their part and do not mention it. I had waited a long time to interview one of the high-ranking economic officials of the country. Finally I succeeded in having the first exclusive interview with Dr. Morteza Mohammad-Khan, the minister of economic affairs and finance.

Ten days prior to the interview, Mr. Emami asked for the "questions." Despite my explanation that I rarely use predetermined questions in interviews, he did not back down. I was therefore obliged to end the matter by presenting a few questions that I knew were of interest to them. I knew what issues they were interested in and what issues they avoid: Issues of foreign exchange, foreign debts, foreign investments, loans, credit, etc.

The minister, with dignity, large eyes, and bushy eyebrows, who had to sit on a chair for 120 minutes despite his back problem, had succeeded in the first 60 minutes of the interview to occupy me with issues of interest to him, which were of course of interest to me as well, but were not the goal of my interview. At the end of the first 60 minutes, with the first question about foreign currency, he looked at his watch.

I asked another question immediately and he became calm. I continued this method in the course of the entire second 60 minutes and finally succeeded in getting responses to most, but not all, of my questions.

In the course of the second 60 minutes of the interview, in response to, as he put it, sensitive foreign currency questions, the minister would take out letters from his desk drawer, read some of them and put them back, without handing even one of them to me. He has many programs to control the price of foreign currency and lowering these false prices. He is serious and persistent and speaks with determination. My understanding is that foreign currency dealers face a tough opponent this time. My hope is that Mohammad-Khan will come off the field victoriously. My desire is that this "hope" will not remain only a "hope."

Dr. Mohammad-Khan was deputy minister of post, telegraph and telephone in 1358 [21 March 1979-20 March 1980]; acting supervisor of the Presidential Institution from 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] to 1368 [21 March 1989-20 March 1990]; and deputy minister of economic affairs and finance and the director general of customs from 1368 to 1372 [21 March 1993-20 March 1994]. Last year, he became the minister of economic affairs and finance.

We have read his research on "Technology Transfer" and "Oil, Natural Gas, and Energy." I know that he taught economics at the 'Allameh Tabataba'i University (perhaps he is still teaching).

He has an engineering degree from the University of San Jose in the United States, and a master's degree in

economics from the same university. His doctoral dissertation was entitled, "The Effects of Economy on the Transfer of Technology."

The interview with Dr. Morteza Mohammad-Khan follows:

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister, if you will permit, we will start the interview on the topic of taxes. Last year, the tax revenues of the country were about 400 billion tumans, and this year's budget projects them at 780 billion tumans, which is double. In order to collect this amount of taxes, have you discovered new tax sources or have you changed the tax collection system?

[Mohammad-Khan] We have made a major change in the tax system. We have increased customs duties and taxes. Also, in indirect taxes, in some instances, such as registration of orders, we have increased the rates...and in practice, direct taxes have also increased.

[ABRAR] What percentage of the gross national product is comprised of tax collection in the country?

[Mohammad-Khan] In developed countries, in the past 10 years it has reached from 30 percent to 50 percent. This shows that we are very weak in the area of taxes. In practice, 60 percent of our gross national product sources are exempt from taxes.

[ABRAR] Sixty percent? Could you tell us in general which sectors are exempt from taxes?

[Mohammad-Khan] The government sectors are exempt. Agricultural and animal husbandry sectors are generally exempt. And the law has facilitated some tax exemptions for the industrial sectors, and...

[ABRAR] Nevertheless, you have announced somewhere that this year you will bring tax collections to 900 billion tumans. Does the society have the capacity for this amount of taxes?

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes. With the tax cadre and the sources that we have discovered, we noticed that our tax capacity is much greater than we thought. We do not give ourselves the right not to collect taxes from the sources that we discover. Through mechanized and nonmechanized means and information from the people, we have gained access to sources that can raise our tax capacity. I mentioned 900 billion tumans on the basis of the discovery of these sources.

[ABRAR] People believe that in the collection of taxes, justice...

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes, yes. The people are right. I realized that a carpet seller paid only 32,000 tumans in taxes in 1371 [21 March 1992-20 March 1993] under the circumstances in which we in practice collected more taxes from a government salary earning employee than this carpet seller. This is not just. It is not just that we tax the employee before he is paid, but a carpet seller pays

only 32,000 tumans in taxes. This year, we will use the realities as our gauge, not the trend of the past years.

[ABRAR] Does it mean that in the past years realities were not the gauge?

[Mohammad-Khan] In the past, the economic policy was a policy of expansion. The policy was to take the economy from the state of paralyzation prior to the acceptance of the resolution. We gave special foreign currencies privileges. We gave tax exemptions.

[ABRAR] Has the government economic policy changed now?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. The government policy is the same government policy, but it is controlled on the basis of support for domestic production. We raised customs tariffs to support domestic production. Nevertheless, the law has determined four to 12 years of tax exemptions for investment in deprived regions. These are the privileges that we have given to production.

[ABRAR] Did any results come from these privileges in the past years?

[Mohammad-Khan] The privileges that we gave in the past all came to fruition. The investments that we made in the First Five-Year Plan are now indicating production. This production is now paying taxes. The government sectors (minus the ministries), all government companies, banks, insurance companies, petrochemical units, steel companies, all were exempt from taxes before. According to the decision of the Majles, they must pay taxes. In other words, they have reached a point that they have the ability to pay taxes.

[ABRAR] It is said that the exemptions that were given previously were sometimes misused. What is your opinion?

[Mohammad-Khan] Many profiteering individuals engaged in profit making under the banner of tax exemption, and they still do so, and became and become practically exempt from the payment of taxes. We have discovered several cases. We are reducing the number of such individuals and getting appropriate taxes from them.

[ABRAR] You have salary, import, inheritance, business, registration of order, and other taxes. Which one is creating problems for you at the present time?

[Mohammad-Khan] Our greatest problem is with the collection of business taxes. In other sectors, we do not have such problems, because there are regulations. We have had problems in regards to business taxes from the past and still do, because they do not submit statements. The sales of most of them are not clear for us.

[ABRAR] On the whole, in how many guilds are these businesses concentrated?

[Mohammad-Khan] There are 130 guilds. Of these 130 guilds, there are 25 guilds that make up about 50 percent of the businesses. These are low-income and service businesses, such as bakers, shoemakers, barbers, etc. In 1373 [21 March 1994-20 March 1995], we decided to collect the same amount of tax from them as in 1371. The reason is that they are from the vulnerable classes and in my opinion they have been treated unfairly in the past.

[ABRAR] What percentage of your business taxes is paid by this 50 percent?

[Mohammad-Khan] About 5 percent consists of another series of guilds, such as grocery stores, super markets, etc., which are services, but have higher incomes. For them, we have determined income [taxes] of 25 percent more than in 1371, which considering the rate of inflation is not much.

We have increased the share of those with 200,000-500,000 tumans in taxable income by 25-40 percent. These are from the middle to lower classes in the society. (After an agreement with them) we said that we must review 500,000 tumans and higher. These are businesses, such as sellers of foreign currency, the value of whose foreign currency has doubled since last year. Out of about \$6-7 billion, about 100 billion [tumans] has circulated in the hands of these foreign currency dealers.

[ABRAR] The total foreign currency that the Central Bank has injected into the market is about \$3 billion. Then, you say \$6-7 billion?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. Add the export foreign currency to it. Its "turnover" will be 100 billion [tumans], which is in the selling and buying, and 2 rials [R] to R5 up or down is a significant amount. In the past, these were not subject to heavy taxes. The rate of foreign currency was not that different. On this basis, they paid 200,000 [tumans] to 300,000 [tumans] in taxes, the taxes of which now have become several million tumans.

[ABRAR] And they protested...

[Mohammad-Khan] About 90 percent of our taxpayers protest. This is not an issue. The law has left room for protests. We have a Preliminary Committee; we have a Review Committee; we have a High Council of Taxes; there is the Administrative Justice Court. There are four stages in which the taxpayer can protest. And the law has anticipated it, and we have no argument.

[ABRAR] Other than protests, I have heard that some of the foreign currency sellers have also made threats against your assessors.

[Mohammad-Khan] They make threats, too. We are not afraid. Suppose we want to subject a taxpayer who has paid 200,000 [tumans] in taxes last year to 20 million [tumans] in taxes. This person does everything: He protests; he makes threats; and there will be the creation

of a climate in the society... But we are certainly determined to take the rights of the oppressed, the rights of the people, and the rights of the government from the affluent people who have large incomes.

With the help of God, we have made such plans that next year, no one will be able to evade taxes.

[ABRAR] I understand from your statements that you have no problem with taxes of up to 500,000 tumans. Other than the foreign currency sellers, what guilds have had a serious increase in their taxes?

[Mohammad-Khan] Jewelers. This guild paid an average of 100,000 tumans in taxes annually previously. In other words, they had set their incomes at the level of [government] employees. There was some creation of a climate through political groups and strong political individuals in the society. They were trying to put pressure on the government. But considering our sense of responsibility, we will collect the taxes since it is a government right. I do not pay attention to the creation of such a climate. I collect them [the taxes].

[ABRAR] The jewelers threatened that they would close their stores. How will you deal with this problem?

[Mohammad-Khan] Close them? All right, let them. Anyone who wants to close down, let him do so. Bakers, vegetable sellers, and grocery stores should not close their stores, and they will not. And we have no problem with them. We do not think people will be upset if jewelers are closed.

[ABRAR] What leverages will you use to collect these taxes? If they close down, no problem will be solved. Such shutdowns will not bring money for the government. These businesses pretend to be victims of injustice by showing that their taxes have suddenly increased 10 times. They resort to any ethical and unethical method and...

[Mohammad-Khan] You asked what leverages? We will make use of all government resources, even security resources. They pretend to be victims of injustice. Let me give you an example. The price of gold at the beginning of 1372 [21 March 1993-20 March 1994] was 1,500 tumans per gram, and this year it is 3,000 tumans per gram. If every gold seller has 10 kg of gold left in his window, even if he has not bought and sold, which he has, for the added value of his goods, which is in the millions of tumans, he must pay taxes.

In addition to added value, he has had work in circulation, for which he must pay taxes. With our own knowledge, the ideas of our colleagues, and the help of the people, we have discovered new tax sources, the most important of which are businesses in 20 guilds: foreign currency sellers, jewelers, real estate agencies, automobile dealerships, household appliance sellers, sellers of light fixtures, fabric sellers, sellers of electrical equipment, etc. And these are money-making businesses with

very high money circulation. But, well, in the past years, they said there has to be an agreement with the unions.

[ABRAR] You made reference to guild unions. Your regulations state, "If the taxpayer has submitted a statement, the head assessor is obliged to announce to the union of the related guild the level of income subject to the determined tax and ask for the opinion of the union. If there is no more than a 20-percent difference between the income determined by the union and the income determined by the assessor, the assessment will be issued on the basis of the opinion of the union, by the assessor or head assessor, as the case may be, and..." Other than the inference with regard to the issue of taxes, according to what I read you, unions have the right to reduce 20 percent of the determined taxes. Is this right still in effect?

[Mohammad-Khan] Prior to the revolution, guild unions were not of the people. They were affiliated with the regime and guild organizations were in the service of the tyrannical regime. Well, after the revolution, the nature of the guild unions changed. Revolutionary individuals were put in charge of the guilds. But the trend stayed the same. In other words, the people changed, but the system did not change. Our people no longer need guardians. They come themselves and vote. They go on pilgrimage themselves. They engage in trade themselves. They go to the front themselves. They defend the revolution as Basijis themselves. We told the unions: Because you are knowledgeable about guild affairs, come and help us organizationally. Determine the classifications. For instance, in the diary guild, there are 10 levels, from 50,000-tuman to 500,000-tuman incomes. They know these things. It is not necessary for us to set tax rates.

[ABRAR] Do you act on these things that have been said?

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes.

[ABRAR] In other words, at the present time, do the unions not make use of their rights to deduct 20 percent from the determined taxes?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. This, as you put it, right, was in the past years. Now, they can no longer just come and deduct 20 percent. I wish they would increase one case; they only decreased all by 20 percent. This is to the detriment of the government, to the detriment of the people. We intend to create a system in which self-statement becomes common with regard to taxes and not the rule of assessors. We want to allow the people to come and state their own just taxes. We trust the people. Our people are generous people. They protected this revolution themselves. And they certainly will come and pay their taxes. We want to give the legitimacy to the people.

[ABRAR] It is heard that wherever your assessors are helpless, they resort to the "per capita" method. Do you want to continue this "per capita" determination?

[Mohammad-Khan] "Per capita" no longer means that we see how much the taxpayer paid last year and this year collect 10 percent more. We want to make the guilds: 1) to issue sales receipts, and 2) to have purchase and sales ledgers. We do not want the guilds to have ledger expenditures like the companies, but we must know their daily sales.

[ABRAR] In examining the level of taxes of guilds, have you come across cases where there has been a great discrepancy between the statements and determinations?

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes. We examined the books of a fish seller whose taxes were determined to be 400,000 tumans. We said that he was eligible for 75 million tumans in taxes. Or an importer who had stated he had lost 9 million tumans. After examining his books, we collected 560 million tumans in taxes from him. You can see what tax capacities we have.

[ABRAR] Were you only satisfied to collect fair taxes from such individuals? Do you not deal in any manner with such individuals?

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes. We do not only collect taxes from tax evaders, but also fines. When we refer to self-statement, if someone misuses our trust, even if it becomes clear after 10 years, we shall collect a fine.

In addition to the receipt, the guilds must have cash registers. All the sales operations of the guilds must be handled through these registers. If they violate the system, they will be fined.

[ABRAR] Will we produce these cash registers domestically or import them?

[Mohammad-Khan] We would like to produce them domestically. The technology is not complex. There will be about a million units.

[ABRAR] What is the price of every unit?

[Mohammad-Khan] If the price of every unit is 10,000 tumans, the price for a million will be 10 billion tumans, which is not significant. If these cash registers work three days, they will pay for themselves.

[ABRAR] Would you pay for these registers or would the guilds have to pay for them?

[Mohammad-Khan] We would give the registers. We would either sell them or loan them.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister, in one of the previous questions, you made reverence to political pressures. From whom do these political pressures come?

[Mohammad-Khan] Political pressures? Some call us on the telephone. They say, for example, that the jewelers are upset. They write letters to this or that person. They write letters to the Majles, because they want to evade paying taxes. They try to make a lot of noise and create

a climate. They want to pretend that the government is unjust. Some want to influence us, which I do not allow.

With my responsibility, with my religious duty, I feel that I must collect what is due that oppressed orphaned child from the affluent and put it in the government fund in order for him to benefit from it.

Therefore, as an official of the Islamic economy, as an official of the country, as an ordinary person, as far as I am able, I will not allow anyone's rights to be violated. I ask God to help me on this path.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister, let us put taxes aside and raise our other questions. If you have any particular point to make about taxes, please do so.

[Mohammad-Khan] I think, as the grand leader said, one day the oil faucets must be turned off and government expenditures must rely on taxes. We do not have much time to be able to stand on our own feet. In the tax system, we intend to collect taxes from individuals who make a lot of money and give the money to the needy in order to achieve social justice. In this manner, the general level of the society will become more balanced, the gap between classes [will lessen]. In the Second Plan, we intend to bring the ratio of tax revenues to the gross national product from 5 percent to 30 percent. This goal can be achieved in a period of five years, and we will have no problem.

[3 Jul pp 1, 4]

[Continuation of interview with Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance Dr. Morteza Mohammad-Khan by ABRAR; place and date not given]

[Text]

I Am Responsible for What I Say. The Rate of Foreign Currency Should Decrease . In the First Plan, we had to increase production. Increased production requires machinery, manpower, capital, technology, etc.

Our nonoil export foreign currency revenues are getting close to the oil export revenues.

The rates are false. There is no reason for the rate of foreign currency to reach 292 tumans from 220 tumans in two hours.

Economic Service. In the interview with the minister of economic affairs and finance, when we leave tax issues and start discussing foreign currency issues, Dr. Mohammad-Khan speaks with long pauses.

He evades the questions discreetly and refuses to answer. Finally, upon our insistence, he consents and says what he did not want to say.

Considering the present economic situation of our country, monetary and foreign currency issues are sensitive issues. The more the minister speaks, the more I realize that he is right not to speak on this matter a great

deal. To our repeated questions, he responds little. He does not say things that everyone knows (but not precisely). Even though I did not give in, and I do not know why, considering the sensitivity of the issue, I shortened the interview.

What follows is a summary of the 120 minutes of interview with Dr. Morteza Mohammad-Khan.

[ABRAR] Mr. Minister, you referred to the "economy of oil." Considering that the trade balance of the country in 1366 [21 March 1987-20 March 1988] and 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] reached -\$26 billion, do you think by increasing the tax revenues this important issue can be solved?

[Mohammad-Khan] The high level of our negative trade balance was due to the privileges that we were giving to the production sectors. We wanted to encourage production in this country. This issue requires "economic discussion." If you are prepared for it, I will discuss it.

[ABRAR] Yes. Our readers prefer a "comprehensive" interview to a "complete" interview.

[Mohammad-Khan] Very well. This negative foreign trade reaches back to our economic policies in those years. Under the present conditions, we continue the same policies but by regulating the economic mechanisms. In the First Plan, we had to increase production. Increased production cannot be done by sending a circular letter stating: Increase production!

Production increase requires machinery, manpower, capital, technology, etc. On the whole, support for production was our central issue in the First Plan, and we were 100 percent successful in this area. With the programs that we implemented, we reduced import needs. We produced for export and [were able to] increase exports. At the present time, our nonoil export foreign currency revenues are getting closer to our oil export foreign currency revenues. If our foreign trade balance were -\$26 billion in 1370 [21 March 1991-20 March 1992] and 1371 [21 March 1992-20 March 1993], last year it became \$7.5 billion.

[ABRAR] Was this decrease from \$26 billion to \$7.5 billion due to lack of government resources or the society demand for it?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. In the First Plan, we borrowed to implement the plan. We borrowed from other countries and poured it into the country, because in the postwar conditions we had to accelerate the growth of our gross national product. We had a growth of 10 or 11 percent, which is a high growth. This growth required high investment. We could not make our production grow without acquiring foreign currency.

[ABRAR] In the First Plan, we had about \$107 billion in imports. What percentage of this amount was for consumption and what percentage for investment?

[Mohammad-Khan] After the war, the country had been "depleted" to some extent. There were shortages. For instance, our ministry had no cars for collecting taxes. Our assessors did not have a motorcycle. They had to take a bus. With the start of the Plan, government and nongovernment organizations all equipped themselves. On the whole, we all acquired new things. Many repaired their homes; many acquired homes. The factories all started to work. All this machinery was imported for the production sector. We imported about \$10 billion in road building tools and equipment. We built so many roads. We built dams. We cultivated the plains. These are all the investment which is still there, has not been depleted, and is working...hence, in my opinion, more than 60 percent of this \$107 billion in imports was developmental and investment imports.

[ABRAR] Has there been any determination of the most important matters in these fundamental investments?

[Mohammad-Khan] Our country is a vast one. The growth of population in our country is 2.7 percent, which is a high rate of growth. It is wise for us to pay more attention to job-generating production, as we have done to some extent. The growth of unemployment at the start of the First Plan was 14 percent, and at the present time has reached about 10 percent. In the fields of steel, petrochemicals, construction industries, car manufacturing industries, etc., we had to start with government and cooperative investments. You know that in these fields the ratio of employment to investment is very low. But in any case, we give priority to fields that generate more jobs.

[ABRAR] Then why is no attention paid to the large sugarcane complex of Khuzestan (which has a high rate of job generating) in the area of investments?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. That is not so. (He takes out a letter from his desk drawer and shows it.) Just a few days ago, we provided the necessary funds of this large project.

[ABRAR] There is the view that states that our country has not been defeated in the political and military front. But in the economic front, they have thrown us in the corner of the rink and are showering us with punches. Have you heard this viewpoint?

[Mohammad-Khan] No...no. That is not so. As the official responsible for the economy of the country, I am prepared to debate the proponents of this view. It is we who are hitting the rival in the middle of the rink. Of course, this does not mean that we have no problems in the area of the economy.

We have "what God has willed" problems. Previously, we had "what God has willed" problems multiplied by three, and now we only have "what God has willed" problems.

[ABRAR] Could you name some of these problems?

[Mohammad-Khan] Look, our country is a Third World country, and we have reached from a dependent regime to an independent revolution, which had no economic model. Economic movements are not the standard in our society. For us, the economy is not the main issue. For us, the economy is secondary to social security. At the present time, in our country, everything, anything you can imagine, can be found. There is an abundance. Now, if the prices are high, there are reasons for it.

In no country (I am not speaking about France and, for example, the United States), of the countries around us, is life as comfortable as it is here. There is no item that is not less expensive than in Turkey, less expensive than Baku, less expensive than in Dubai, etc.

[ABRAR] Pardon me, Mr. Minister. Do not interpret our silence as endorsement, because what you say, no...

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes, I know what you want to say. You want [to bring up] the ratio of expenditures to income...

[ABRAR] Now, I wanted to say that you also know of no country in our neighborhood the salary of whose physicians is less than \$200, the salary of whose journalists is less than \$200, the salary of whose university professors is less than \$200.

[Mohammad-Khan] And you know of no place where a university professor gets a house before he starts working. This is due to the difference in our economic structure. Did the price of the dollar not increase 100 percent last year? Was inflation in the country less than one-fourth of the increase in foreign currency? Why is the increase in the price of foreign currency not proportionate to inflation? It is because of the advantages that the government gives you in subsidies?

Should you buy gasoline for 5 tumans per liter? Should you buy electricity for R3 to R4 per kilowatt? Should you buy bread for 5 tumans per kilo? Hence, it is not so. The fact is that 75 percent of your expenditures are paid with government help. I have a question for you. Last year, when the foreign currency rate doubled, did the decrease in the value of the rial also double?

[ABRAR] Not at all. In my opinion, the foreign currency rate is a false rate. The dollar is not even worth the 175 tumans that you determined.

[Mohammad-Khan] Yes. You are absolutely right. These rates are false. Otherwise, there is no reason for the rate of foreign currency to reach 292 tumans from 220 tumans in two hours. Our economy is going to be completely structured. In a structured economy, we can eliminate the problems. In the past, our economy was not structured.

[ABRAR] What do yo mean by "in the past"?

[Mohammad-Khan] I mean prior to the First Plan. One of the proud points of this plan was to regulate the economic "structure" of the country. We reduced the

budget and increased tax revenues. In an orderly economic structure, we can immediately find out where the problem is...and I must add here that the characteristics of our country are different from everywhere else in the world. Our country is independent.

We are not Saudi Arabia, so that they take our oil and asphalt our deserts. Saudi Arabia is under the protection of the United States. If it were not for the United States, "Saddam" would level Saudi Arabia in 24 hours.

[ABRAR] Why do you compare our country with Saudi Arabia? Saudi Arabia is not on the same level with us. If you want to compare, compare it with Indonesia, for instance.

[Mohammad-Khan] We are different from Indonesia as well. We are also different from Malaysia and Taiwan. We are an independent country. We want not to be dependent on, involved with, and in need of others. Our people do not want it.

[ABRAR] If that is so and that is the goal of the people, then how do you expect the people to welcome foreign investments in their country?

[Mohammad-Khan] The capacity for investment in our country is limited. The foreign investor who comes here and engages in productive work raises our unknown capacity. The deprived regions will prosper. Hence, foreign investment in itself is not bad.

[ABRAR] But people do not know what countries have invested or want to invest in Iran.

[Mohammad-Khan] Any country, except for Israel, can invest in our country.

[ABRAR] Again, the people do not know about the amount of foreign loans. How much did we borrow in the First Plan?

[Mohammad-Khan] How much did we borrow? We did not borrow. We only got \$300 million in credit from the World Bank. At the present, we have a credit capacity in the IMF that we are not using. Our government and private sectors brought some goods from other countries the payment for which, due to the decrease in the traditional revenues, was postponed. We had negotiations and postponed the payment of the debt of these sectors according to a schedule. We have no problems in this area.

[ABRAR] How much are these postponed payments, as you put it?

[Mohammad-Khan] I do not know.

[ABRAR] But have other government sources announced the amount of these postponed payments?

[Mohammad-Khan] I do not know the precise amount.

[ABRAR] When you say that the private sector has caused these debts, out of \$107 billion in imports, only

\$8 billion was by the private sector, and on the other hand they have claimed that they have paid the money to the Central Bank.

[Mohammad-Khan] I do not know about this \$8 billion. But most of these postponed payments concern our industrial and agricultural sectors. Annually, we buy \$1 billion in powder and pesticides alone.

[ABRAR] But this is not related to the private sector.

[Mohammad-Khan] It is for this reason that the government has stepped forward, and the Central Bank has taken upon itself all the debts. In this area, we have no problems... Note the changes that we have had in the areas of exports and imports.

(He takes out a chart of exports and imports from his desk drawer.)

See what changes have occurred in our nonoil exports. We...

[ABRAR] Yes. I also have this chart. And I remember your statements in the "First Coordinating Seminar of Directors" throughout the country. In that meeting you said, Our nonoil exports in 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] was \$650 million, whereas the same chart that you have in your hand states something over \$1 billion. You mean...

[Mohammad-Khan] If that is so, I am mistaken. I did not mean 1367, I meant 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986]. From 1367, we brought our nonoil exports from \$1 billion to \$4 billion last year.

[ABRAR] You make so much noise about nonoil exports. These exports from 1358 [21 March 1979-20 March 1980] to last year (in 15 years) only increased by four times, that is, from \$800 million reached \$3.5 billion.

[Mohammad-Khan] You certainly do not have these figures.

You have taken them out of newspapers. I think it unlikely that these figures are correct. For instance, on exports in 1358...

[ABRAR] This is a report by your ministry. It was prepared by the deputy minister for international affairs. Then, you think it unlikely that they are correct?

[Mohammad-Khan] That \$800 million of 1358 is mainly carpets and expensive items taken by the escapees. Out of \$815 million in exports in 1358, \$600 million was carpets.

[ABRAR] All right. Nonoil exports from 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1982], prior to your First Plan, had regular growth. Why do you take all the credit? In fact, from 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987] to 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989] (prior to the First Plan), our nonoil exports doubled.

[Mohammad-Khan] (Looks at the chart)

Yes, it reached from \$300 million in 1361 to \$400 million in 1363 [21 March 1984-20 March 1985]. In 1364 [21 March 1985-20 March 1986] and 1365 [21 March 1986-20 March 1987], it went up (they put pressure to export all there was) and brought it from \$500 million to \$1 billion. It shows that national wealth is going abroad.

[ABRAR] Do you believe that until 1367 [21 March 1988-20 March 1989], nonoil exports took our national wealth out, but after 1367...

[Mohammad-Khan] No. That is not what I meant. What I mean is that our export capacity in 1367 was completed with \$1 billion. But from 1368 to 1372 [21 March 1993-20 March 1994], we brought it from \$1 billion to \$4 billion. You know of no country whose exports have quadrupled in five years. In the course of these five years, we succeeded in exporting hundreds of millions of dollars in carpets to Japan, which did not know Persian carpets.

[ABRAR] With your permission, let us change the discussion to the issue of "foreign currency," which is of great interest to our readers. You did not say what is the amount of Iran's debt. But, Mr. 'Adeli said \$18 billion.

[Mohammad-Khan] Mr. 'Adeli is responsible for what he says, and I am responsible for what I say.

[ABRAR] In other words, you do not endorse what Mr. 'Adeli has said?

[Mohammad-Khan] I will not endorse what Mr. 'Adeli has said until I see it in a document. I do not know what he has said and when.

[ABRAR] Suppose he has said \$18 billion.

[Mohammad-Khan] He has said what?

[ABRAR] He said Iran's debt is \$18 billion.

[Mohammad-Khan] They have the statistics. I do not have the numbers. I have the figure of under \$10 billion.

[ABRAR] Why did you not say that earlier? When we wrote \$30 billion and \$40 billion, why did you not announce the figure at that time?

[Mohammad-Khan] Where did you get these figures?

[ABRAR] From foreign sources.

[Mohammad-Khan] Now, write from domestic sources, \$10 billion.

[ABRAR] Why did you not say so earlier, so we would not write \$30 billion and \$40 billion?

[Mohammad-Khan] Look, "foreign currency" issues are sensitive issues. We have a foreign currency crisis in the country. Any sort of mistaken interpretation of our statements can have ill effects on the rate of "foreign

currency." It is in the interest of the country not to create a chaotic climate in the society.

The profiteers are waiting to fight in muddy water. The enemy intends to create a false crises in the country (in economic areas). If we keep silent in some instances and on certain occasions, we do so from an expert perspective, not that we do not trust you and the people.

You (I mean the press) deal with economic, especially foreign currency, issues emotionally.

[ABRAR] It has been announced that foreign currency for travel will not be given until the new foreign currency rate is determined. Are you going to increase the price of foreign currency?

[Mohammad-Khan] No. The rate of "foreign currency" should to decrease.

Country's Economy Reviewed, Private Sector Discussed

94LA0224A Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Jul 94 p 11

[Article by Seyyed Ahmad Hoseyn Mahini: "A Few Points About Iran's Economy"]

[Text] According to the Law To Maintain and Develop Iran's Industries, industries are divided into several sectors, some of which, either because of the nature of the industry or because of the lack of capital or management, are under government supervision. Recently the government has begun implementing policies to transfer some shares of these industries to the private sector, or in reality to sell them.

Here it is necessary to have a precise description of some positions to keep from weakening industry.

What Are the Government and Private Sectors?

In Iran, unlike in the capitalist countries, there is no clear line between the private and government sectors. This is because, in addition to the fact that the people and the government are one in ideology and policy, they are also totally interdependent in the economy. For example, if the government wants to turn a factory over to the private sector, first the private sector must be approved and a selection must be made, and then a selection council, even if it does not act in the name of the selected buyer, must give an opinion in this regard. Second, the transfer must be made with government help. That is, the sale on installment payments of this factory must be made possible, either through the banking system or other government bodies.

We, therefore, see that in this procedure true transfer has not taken place, but instead money has gone from one pocket into another. The only thing left in this regard is that the factory goes out of the government's hands and a long-term indebtedness remains to the government, and it is not clear who will pay it or out of what expenditure.

What Is Capital?

Capital is the total of savings and profits. Savings are in reality procured by families, but profit is from family expenditures. It is thus in reality these families that create capital, whether they consume or do not consume.

The practical mechanism for that is that if a family now has 250,000 rials [R] per month in income and spends R200,000 on food and consumption, it saves the other R50,000.

Its R200,000 in expenditures will increase the profit of the sellers at least by 20 percent. That is, the fruit seller, the clothing seller, the bakery and others make profit from this and these profits increase their capital. On the other hand, the family also puts the other R50,000 in the bank. The bank combines this money with the savings of others and signs a contract with a merchant or an industrialist to provide his capital.

As is seen, some capital is procured directly through family savings, and other capital is procured indirectly through family consumption.

In Iran, because of the proper economic understanding of economics through the orthodoxy of Islam, the people do not have a good view of someone who has a lot of wealth. Thus the seller cannot make an excessive profit. Therefore, the accumulation of wealth is unacceptable, while in the capitalist countries accumulation of capital is seen as an indication of the genius and special abilities of the capitalist, and is supported.

Thus in Iran there are no big capitalists, or if they do exist, they must hide their wealth and the interest of the nation and the country do not accept the existence of such capitalists, because they know that based on the sayings of His Holiness 'Ali (peace be upon him), wealth is never concentrated in one place unless someone's rights have been violated.

Best Procedure for Capital Investment in Iran

The best procedure for capitalist investment in the bank is via the government, because the people have confidence in the government and they give it their small amounts of money as a trust. The government banks are thus quite successful attracting small investments, and in addition to that the stock market, with the government's credibility, has become a reliable place for investments, so that we now see that with the stopping of imports, the demand for the dollar has decreased, the fever for foreign exchange has subsided and the people's money is moving into the purchase of shares in such a way that the price of the dollar has remained approximately stable while the volume of transactions in shares has multiplied up to five times over.

Thus the accumulation of capital in the hands of the government, due to the public's diversity on its performance, is more acceptable to the people than it being in the hands of one or several individuals in the private sector.

Failure of the Private Sector

The respected minister of industries admits that despite all the support that has been given to the private sector, it still has no active role in the economy. The reason for this is its entry into commerce and replacing industry with it. That is to say that the private sector wants to make quick profits, which is contrary to the government's goals. The government's goal is to secure the public welfare. Making quick profits would mean converting industries to trade centers, because the recovery of capital in industry takes years, while this is sometimes done in a day in the commercial sector.

Iran's history has shown that any kind of credit and support for the private sector has led to the loss of industry and the growth of commerce. The Central Bank's statistics show well that the industrial sector has not been able to draw all of its annual bank credits, while in addition to drawing all its credits, the commercial sector has asked for additional credit allocations.

Even in credit analysis of the industrial sector one can see its conversion to commerce.

Selling the Factory Instead of Managing It

The private sector prefers to sell a factory rather than manage it. A brief study shows that the agreements in principle obtained change hands several times before they go into operation. That is, general agreements in principle are usually put into operation by parties other than the ones with which they are made, and this means that the concessions for a factory are bought and sold at various stages.

When an agreement in principle in one person's name is sold, someone else buys it to obtain its foreign exchange ration, and then sells it at a higher price. Someone else takes the bank credits and then sells it, and so on. Therefore the transfer of industry to the private sector means the sale or changing hands of its concessions. Clearly, if this sale is done on installment payments, the buyer will view it as a government trap and will sell the factory's land immediately.

Proposal

In order to find a better procedure in this regard, the best way is to go into the stock market. Salable industries should be sold on the stock market in the form of shares so the general public will be able to become shareholders, and a particular individual or individuals will not become the owner of the factory, possibly making it difficult to control later.

Old industries, which are not acceptable on the stock market, are divided into two groups. They are either inside city limits or outside city limits.

The old factories located in the cities can be sold as land, because the price for the land alone for these types of factories (not including its machinery and equipment)

will be enough to buy the services of its personnel, and on the other hand this will help put the city in order and improve its environment. If the goal is still industrial development, the shares can be bought for cash to be given to the workers so they can become shareholders in another working factory that needs investment.

If the factory is outside city limits, the factory's area can be reduced and half of it sold to obtain capital for updating the machinery. In any case, improving or renting factories is better than selling them on installment payments or the like, because in general the people want to be employed in government factories, and with their removal in reality economic and employment policies and the like are lost and it will be difficult to regain control of them.

Country's Lack of Marketing Skills Criticized

*94LA0225A Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Jul 94
pp 3, 16*

[Article by Sina Vahed: "Why Do We Not Have Marketing Power?"]

[Text] Hundreds of foreign goods, which are to be found today in abundance on our national market and are purchased by Iranian consumers, all have the strong, calculated and careful support of marketing operations. Without that, there would be no possibility for the people to buy them and the market would have no inclination to import and work with them commercially. It is better if we give a very simple presentation of the marketing cycle, to remove all doubt and ambiguity about where the great weakness lies in our national market system, how far behind and incapable our merchants are on this subject, and the damaging and frightening extent to which the Supreme Economic Council and the Supreme Council of Banks have overlooked this matter.

American Winston cigarettes and Japanese Mild Seven cigarettes are good and completely illuminating examples, and as it happens both have the same or similar marketing practices in Iran's market. When Winston wanted to enter Iran's market, the top price for domestic cigarettes was 3 tumans. After a period of 150 days, during which Winstons were distributed free in this country's consumer geography, these cigarettes were sold at the same price as domestic cigarettes, meaning 3 tumans per pack. After the stabilization of its sales position and after it was established in the Iranian consumer's taste, which usually takes more than a year, the price of Winstons gradually increased, and the profitability of the main producing company was assured from the Iranian market.

In the same way, over a period of six months, Mild Seven cigarettes were dumped free on Iran's market, then in the next stage were sold at the same price as domestic cigarettes, which at that time was 50 tumans, and gradually a profitable price was established.

Thus Winston cigarettes, Mild Seven cigarettes, and other products that are in some way flowing abundantly through our consumer market, being converted to dollars and filling the pockets of foreign companies, are all indebted to a series of necessary preliminaries known as "marketing." In simple terms, "marketing" consists of study and research in a market to determine ways to sell an item of merchandise.

The reason we can say clearly that in today's society, civilization and international values, the production system accounts for 10 percent of what there is to say about the international market and the other 90 percent is marketing, is that the production cycle has become completely simple and requires a minimum of time, while on the other hand the marketing cycle has become totally complicated and requires maximum time.

The Mild Seven cigarette factory in Japan took no more than four months to go into operation, but the marketing cycle for this cigarette in Iran's market alone took more than two years. The production cycle does not need any thinking or reasoning. It merely depends on a series of technical calculations, which are mostly done today by computers, and this removes the likelihood of errors in the production cycle.

The marketing cycle, however, has to do only with thinking and reasoning in the full sense, for every item and every market. Basically marketing is a reality that is nothing less than deep and thoughtful sociological research. It is for this reason that intelligent and thinking people with the ability to do social and political analysis are hired to work in the marketing and international sales departments in the large companies in Japan, Korea and Singapore.

Yes, a deeper and more careful look at the marketing cycle for Mild Seven cigarettes shows clearly how the value and power of thought, culture and history are applied in the market and how this causes sales to flow easily, which is the ultimate goal of marketing.

One of the largest international sales markets is the Middle Eastern market, and the highest share of cigarette sales on this market belongs to the monster American companies. It is clear that this Middle East market is the main target for Mild Seven cigarettes.

Well, this market belongs to Muslims. Therefore, Mild Seven must be bought by someone who is a Muslim and says prayers. This is where the role of the marketing cycle becomes clear, and it shows the application of reasoning and thought in the market. The human geography of the Middle East is made up of completely different races, languages, histories, feelings and inclinations, but all these elements are Muslim people who say "God is great." Despite their geographic and political differences, they share a series of feelings and ideas and all these things are organized among them and form a part of their shared emotional makeup.

Therefore this product, Mild Seven cigarettes, must be able to get close to this emotional makeup and then penetrate it in order to guarantee future sales on the market. It is the responsibility of marketing to acquire an understanding and perception of this shared emotional structure and to learn how to establish a connection between those feelings and the product.

Thus the name of the cigarette and the design on the package is selected in such a way that it can go along with the internal shared feelings of Muslims. The number 7, which in the emotional makeup of all Muslims represents the limitless and boundless extent of the two worlds, is combined with the term "mild," which means "peaceful" and "calm," to become the name of the new cigarette. Likewise, more than 90 percent of the two sides of the surface of the pack is taken up with small silver stars, which is really a precise and elegant graphic description of Mild Seven.

The concepts of endlessness, infinity and some kind of holiness are reflected in the name, in the graphic design and in the overall soft color scheme used in this cigarette's packaging. This establishes the connection with the shared feelings of all the people who live in the Middle East, and they jiggle their pockets and easily reach out their hands to buy.

Yes, this is the cycle of marketing power, which is nothing other than research and thought, and insight into the emotional makeup of the consumer. If the market is flooded with prayer beads, watches that show the direction of Mecca, watches to announce prayer times, electronic prayer rugs and electric heating platforms made in Japan, Hong Kong and Singapore, that is not at all surprising, because Japanese marketing has been working in our society for at least 20 years like a Seiko watch!

What is surprising is that our Ministry of Commerce, our Supreme Economic Council, our Supreme Council of Banks and our Export Development Center have paid no attention to this power of marketing and have created no facilities to form and organize marketing power in the national market. The production system in a market that does not have marketing power and cannot establish a relationship with its customers will have no vigor, evolution or future, will gradually rot and become disillusioned and will be obliterated from the active market.

The Supreme Economic Council, the Supreme Council of Banks and the insurance companies have no choice but to understand the place of thought in the national market, which has manifested itself in the marketing sector, and to save the concerned and sincere basiji thinkers in the government and the leadership of the national market from weakness, dumbness and impotence by providing spiritual and financial support.

PAKISTAN

Murtaza Bhutto's Politics Examined

94AS0373B Islamabad HURMAT in Urdu 23 Jun 94
p 20

[Article by Zabir Ahmed Mujahid: "How Will Murtaza Bhutto's Release Effect Sindh?"]

[Text] Murtaza Bhutto, son of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the founder of Pakistan People's Party [PPP] and former prime minister, and brother of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, was freed from jail on bail on 5 June. His freedom has caused a great deal of commotion in Sindh's politics and there is a lot of dissonance in the corridors of power.

There are 78 cases registered against Murtaza Bhutto including hijacking of a PIA plane, murder of Chowdhury Zahur Alahi, and incidents of terrorism. These 78 cases have been merged into seven major cases which are being tried in various anti-terrorism courts in the nation. These special courts have already accepted bail for Murtaza Bhutto in all these cases. On 5 June, in the last case (Shah Bander case), bail was accepted again and he was released. Murtaza Bhutto returned to Pakistan eight months ago after 16 years of self-imposed exile and had submitted himself to arrest. He was in jails for the last eight months. Mir Murtaza Bhutto had been a controversial figure in our national politics because of his and his organization, Al-Zulfiqar's, activities. Various circles estimate that some specific agencies have brought Murtaza Bhutto back, and there is also the question: Why did Murtaza Bhutto decide to return home soon after his sister became the prime minister [for the second time]? Some circles refuse to accept that Benazir Bhutto and Murtaza Bhutto have any actual differences. However, if we look at the events that took place after Murtaza Bhutto's return, more facts come to light. Begum Nusrat Bhutto had to lose her position as chairperson of the PPP because of Murtaza Bhutto. Firing at Al-Murtaza in Larkana and the death of some of Murtaza Bhutto's supporters on the anniversary of late Mr. Bhutto and the state governments issuing statements declaring Murtaza Bhutto an agent of Indian Intelligence [RAW] indicate that differences between Benazir and Murtaza do exist. The issue whether these differences are political or personal is open for debate. However, it is clear that political inheritance of late Mr. Bhutto is an issue and the Bhutto family is involved in a political war to decide who inherits it. Murtaza Bhutto's statements show that he is mostly angry at Asif Zardari and does not want to accept him as his brother-in-law. He believes that Zardari has full control over Benazir and is making her do all kind of legitimate and illegitimate things and vested interests have taken control of the PPP because of Asif Zardari. Some circles take Benazir Bhutto's statements against Murtaza Bhutto seriously while others comment that Benazir Bhutto by issuing such serious statements against Murtaza is trying to give the impression that the

accusations being levied against her and the PPP with reference to Al-Zulfiqar are not true. She wants to be disassociated with the terrorists based on relations between Al-Zulfiqar and the PPP. Anyhow, the fact that Murtaza Bhutto is not satisfied with his sister Benazir Bhutto's leadership of the PPP cannot be denied. He wants to make the PPP the party of late Mr. Bhutto. Political observers and commentators had said at the return of Murtaza Bhutto that the Murtaza Bhutto factor will not be successful. However, after Murtaza Bhutto's release, the way he was welcomed in Karachi, and the way he was received at various places between Karachi and Larkana, show that Murtaza Bhutto is becoming more popular among Sindh's youth. This is what worries the PPP leadership and the government. It would not be inappropriate to say that Murtaza Bhutto's release is a challenge for the PPP and some factions within the PPP want to see Murtaza Bhutto as the party leader.

After his release, Murtaza Bhutto visited Quaid-i Azam's Memorial with a large procession. This was the first political step he took after his return home and release from jail. Although Murtaza Bhutto has emphasized the rights of Sindhis in his statements, his presence at the Quaid-i Azam Memorial hints toward his future goal. It appears that he wants to play a role at the national level and that is when Benazir's problems start, because the person challenging her at national level is a Bhutto and her own brother. After his release, Murtaza Bhutto told reporters that it would be clear soon who is the real political successor of late Mr. Bhutto. He said that the Karachi Package was a fraud and it will cause a sense of deprivation among the people in inner Sindh. He said, "The real game will start now. I ask Benazir to give up association with robbers and looters and join the real PPP. The day of reckoning for those who put shackles on me has come." Murtaza Bhutto condemned the act of destroying his close friend Sabak Mujeeb's factory and said that if it happens again neither the Balawal House nor the chief minister house will be safe. He said the law and order situation in Sindh was inadequate. Meanwhile, his sister, Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, said about his release that anti-national elements were inciting Murtaza Bhutto against her. However, she expressed the hope that Murtaza Bhutto will not hurt the party.

Murtaza Bhutto addressed a large press conference at 71 Clifton Road in Karachi the day after his release and strongly criticized Benazir's administration. He demanded that a government composed of all political parties be established in the nation. He said that looking at the present government's actions, one cannot say if it will be able to finish even one year. Murtaza Bhutto said that Benazir was elected prime minister through a democratic system, however, she is running the government in an undemocratic manner. People with specific interests have crowded around her. A government that cannot "even provide water to drink" has no right to exist. He said that if we want to save Sindh we must change the government there and to save the whole nation, we must

change the federal government. Murtaza Bhutto said that the PPP was his own party and he did not need to form a new one. He wants to throw out landlords and looters from the party.

After Murtaza Bhutto's strong criticism of the government and a demand to form a national government, cracks in the PPP government in Sindh have begun to show. The PPP has brought forward some ministers to issue statements against Murtaza Bhutto. Sindh's minister of information, Sayyed Parvez Ali Shah, and state's minister for municipal committees, Nadir Maghi, have accused Murtaza Bhutto in a joint press conference of having "Asifphobia." They said that he wanted to give a bad name to the party by creating unrest in the state. He will learn about his popularity in the Sindh assembly during the next session.

Anyhow, the PPP government is suffering from delusion by maintaining wrong assumptions about Murtaza Bhutto. Murtaza Bhutto is out of jail now and one cannot ignore the way the whole of Sindh celebrated his release. A large number of disenchanted PPP members and leaders have gathered around Murtaza Bhutto. They have found a leader. A significant number of Sindh assembly members have a soft spot for Murtaza Bhutto and they have started lobbying for him. Dr. Farooq Sattar, opposition leader in the Sindh assembly and the MQM leader, met with Murtaza Bhutto and congratulated him on his release. Makhdum Talib Almoli and Pir Pagara, representing the two political and spiritual dynasties of Sindh, are also supporting Murtaza Bhutto. Khadum Khal q Alzaman of the Makhdum dynasty is openly supporting Murtaza Bhutto and Pir Pagara's son, Sayyed Sabghat Allah Shah Rashidi, has also congratulated Murtaza Bhutto. He said that despite his and Murtaza Bhutto's paths being different, there are possibilities of a political coalition and Murtaza Bhutto could become Sindh's chief minister. There is news about a split in the PPP over supporting or opposing Murtaza Bhutto.

Murtaza Bhutto's release is making Sindh's politics take a new turn and there are clear indications of political changes in Sindh. There are 26 Mohajir Quami Movement [MQM] and 8 Function League members in Sindh's assembly in addition to minority and independent members. There are also effective efforts afoot within the PPP to support Murtaza and form the Bhutto group. Murtaza Bhutto is more acceptable than the PPP to the MQM. Mumtaz Bhutto is also lobbying for Murtaza Bhutto.

When Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto died, there was no male heir in his family, therefore, no successor could be appointed. When the Bhutto family and political leaders gather at the "turban ceremony" of Murtaza Bhutto in Larkana, a new era in the Bhutto family politics will begin. Murtaza Bhutto will emerge as the political heir to late Mr. Bhutto and the danger bell for Benazir's control will ring at that time. Murtaza Bhutto will appear as a definite threat to

the Sindh government. However, Murtaza Bhutto has a problem in Sindh because there is rural and urban leadership in Sindh and getting support from both will be a test for Murtaza Bhutto. It is clear that Murtaza Bhutto will be involved in national politics, however, he will support Sindhi's rights and will break up the influence of Benazir's group there. Benazir Bhutto has also adopted this strategy. Madam Bhutto may offer the position of chief minister of Sindh to Murtaza Bhutto to silence him, however, Murtaza Bhutto has already flatly rejected this offer. Now, we have to see which party Murtaza Bhutto wants to work with at the national level. Although Murtaza Bhutto has declared Nawaz Sharif a product of martial law, political circles have hinted that the possibility of Murtaza Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif's political cooperation cannot be ruled out. The Murtaza Bhutto factor appears to be successful in Sindhi's politics now, because the PPP has to confront the PPP itself. Murtaza Bhutto's PPP also has the slogan of *Jiye Bhutto* (long live Bhutto) and his flag is the same as that of Benazir's PPP.

Nawaz Sharif Seen Practicing Destructive Politics
94AS0370C Peshawar MASHRIQ (Supplement) in Urdu
18 Jun 94 p 11

[Editorial: "The Opposition Leader's Futile Efforts"]

[Text] The leader of the opposition, Mian Nawaz Sharif, accompanied by a few foreign reporters and a number of like-minded journalists, recently paid a visit to Dera Ghazi Khan to inspect land owned by president Farouq Ahmad Laghari. Nawaz Sharif journeyed from Multan with his staff. According to journalists who accompanied him on his tour of Moza Darkhast Jamal Khan, the leader of the opposition showed them a parcel of old fallow land but was unable to produce any concrete documents to prove that the land had been sold. The local people present at the site had already told him that the land which was sold was not the one they were looking at but another which they did not visit. According to press reports, when Sharif and the journalists arrived, officials of the local administration were waiting at the site with the necessary documents but Sharif did not consider it necessary to see the documents or to ask any questions; in fact, members of his staff prevented foreign reporters from questioning the administration officials. According to reports, when the leader of the opposition arrived at Moza Darkhast Jamal Khan, he was told of the agricultural farm which had been sold; but he took his entourage and journalists to a piece of old fallow land 8 kilometers from Razi farm and claimed that the president had sold that parcel of land. For the past month, Sharif has been constantly accusing the president of being implicated in a scandal surrounding the sale of land but he has not produced any documents to support his accusation. After 15 days of preparation and propaganda, Sharif arrived at Moza Darkhast Jamal Khan on Wednesday accompanied by journalists. However, he ignored the truth and declared that the piece of

land identified by his assistant Sardar Zulfiqar Khosa was the land which had been sold. Sharif's abject failure to prove his accusations was witnessed by the journalists who accompanied him. He continues to insist, however, that he was telling the truth although if there had been any concrete proof of his assertions he would have certainly produced it for the journalists. The drama which the opposition leader staged to gain some cheap publicity proved a miserable failure. His behaviour demonstrated that in his quest for power, he has no compunction in trampling under foot human and moral values and truths. His cold reception by the people of D. G. Khan during his recent tour of that area and the dislike they expressed for his theatrics should have opened his eyes.

A day before the leader of the opposition embarked on his journey, the president told him that he was welcome to visit Dera Ghazi Khan which was after all a part of Pakistan. The president instructed his tribe to observe Baloch traditions during Sharif's visit. Commenting on the accusations brought against him, the president said that there was no need to hide anything since he had nothing to hide. A day prior to Nawaz Sharif's visit to Dera Ghazi Khan, the president's cousin, Sardar Jafar Khan Laghari, invited journalists from independent national newspapers to tour the areas in question. The journalists inspected the 1531 acre piece of land which was the one that was sold and met with the administrative officials of Dera Ghazi Khan. The subdivisional collector and other officials produced papers of the Department of Revenue to acquaint the journalists with the situation. Sardar Mohammad Jamal Khan Laghari, son of the president, vehemently denied the rumor that his tribe intended to use force against the leader of the opposition and said that in his locality, the question of using force against guests would never arise. Journalists who toured South Moza Darkhast Jamal Khan number 2 at the invitation of Sardar Jafar Khan Laghari said that identification red flags had been placed around the parcels of Razi farm which had been sold. According to the same journalists, the photographs of land which the opposition was supplying to the journalists was situated several kilometers distant from the farm sold and was also owned by the president.

After the publication of reports by independent newspaper journalists, Nawaz Sharif should have cancelled his tour. Unfortunately, he may not be aware of the consequences of the politics of confrontation and recrimination which he has been encouraging. No sensible person can approve of the opposition leader's habit of entering other people's property. How would he react if tomorrow a politician barged into Nawaz Sharif's factories? It is a matter of record that since his participation in national politics, the president has met expenses by selling land; but Nawaz Sharif built up his vast industrial empire after assuming office. The president's cousin, Sardar Jafar Khan Laghari, laid bare the aims and conspiracies hidden behind the opposition leader's accusations and rabble rousing; Laghari pointed

out that the plot to hold up the office of the presidency to ridicule was hatched by Sardar Zulfiqar Ali Khosa. The sardars [chiefs] of the Khosa tribe had always been elected to the national assembly with the help of the Lagharis. Zulfiqar Ali's son Saif Khosa who was the chairman of the district council of Dera Ghazi Khan misappropriated funds as a result of which the Lagharis severed their political and regional cooperation with the Khosas. The ungrateful and vengeful [Zulfiqar Ali Khosa] used the opposition platform to achieve his aims; the facts are contrary [to what the opposition maintains]. Referring to the independent journalist's tour of D.G. Khan, a spokesman for the Muslim League Nawaz group said that when the acting chief was briefing the journalists, his legs were trembling. It is noteworthy that the journalists who were present at the briefing did not remark on trembling legs which the Muslim League spokesman claimed to have seen. The opposition leader has established a new record in recrimination and his behaviour has justifiably angered the people in particular the Laghari tribe; but the president and his son asked the people to remain calm and thus caused the propaganda balloon of certain elements to collapse. After a month of rabble rousing and outcry, the opposition was humiliated; it should learn from this experience. The journalists who visited Moza Darkhast Jamal Khan a day before Nawaz Sharif embarked on his tour of Dera Ghazi Khan revealed the true state of affairs and the people thus learned of the machinations of the opposition. Instead of accusing others, Nawaz Sharif should now prepare himself to answer the serious charges of looting and exceeding his authority. The president of the country has taken the case of the accusations brought against him to court. He will soon appoint a judicial commission to investigate the charges regarding the sale of land and basically, the leader of the opposition will have to prove his accusations in a court of law. As things now stand, he is not expected to be able to prove his allegations. The representatives of independent newspapers have presented the facts to the nation and revealed a conspiracy based on an ungrateful individual's desire for personal revenge. We think that the government should refer this issue to the judiciary so that the faction which has insulted the president of the country and made a mockery of the presidency's dignity will be punished according to the laws of the country.

Civil War Said Imminent in Balochistan

No Turning Back

94AS0374A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 20 Jun 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Balochistan on the Road to Civil War"]

[Text] The issue of Baloch and Pashtun nationalism had subsided earlier, however, this poisonous issue came out again during the recent assembly session. The resolution against southern Pashtunkhawah [the proposal to carve a Pashtu-speaking state out of Balochistan] in the assembly will lead to a war. In response to Pakistan

People's Party [PPP] leader Sadiq Umrani's speech in which he said that everyone living in Balochistan should consider himself a Balochi, Khan Achakzai replied; "we are proud of being Pashtuns and calling us Balochis is an insult." Opposition leader Sardar Akhtar Maingal's suggestion to remove the southern Pashtunistan signs hanging in various places was met with Cabinet Member Dr. Kalim Allah Khan's response that in the 70's the Pashtun areas were merged with Balochistan without [anyone having asked] the Pashtuns. Therefore, he said, a united Pashtunistan [comprised of northern Balochistan and the North-West Frontier Province] is our right. The idea of holding a referendum was also discussed at this time and the resolution was passed by a majority that using "Southern Pashtunistan" on the address of offices, shops, and automobiles tags be banned since according to our constitution there are only four states in Pakistan and there is no such state as "Southern Pashtunistan." However, this dispute will not be resolved just by passing this resolution; it is going to get worse. If the leaders of various ethnic groups in Balochistan do not work together and find a political solution to the present problem, this state will soon be a victim of a civil war. It can divide into several parts. There have been talks about establishing new states in Pakistan for a long time. The Constitutional Commission headed by the late Maulana Zaffar Ahmed Insari had also recommended changing each division into a state. However, Ziaul Haq had to keep the Sindhi leaders happy and had rejected this proposal. This is being brought up again now. As for the question of making states based on ethnic population, the problem is that various ethnic groups are present in each state. There is no state which has only one language now. Perhaps districts can be formed on this basis, however, calling them states is an entirely different issue. Still, after dividing into smaller units, they must work together. Ethnic prejudice and adherence to various groups will result only in bloodshed.

Balochis, Pashtun at Odds

94AS0374B Karachi AMN in Urdu 29 Jun 94 p 8

[News Report: "Baloch-Pashtun Problem Becoming Serious in Balochistan"]

[Text] Quetta, 18 June (AMN News)—There has been sharp reaction in Pashtun areas of Balochistan over the resolution passed in the Assembly demanding to ban the use of the term "Pashtunkhawah Suba." It should be known that political parties and organizations of Pashtuns have been demanding a separate state formed of Pashtun regions and want to call it "Pashtunkhawah Suba." The government has not accepted this demand. However, Pashtuns are using Pashtunkhawah Suba name on sign boards in shops and business organization and on license tags on vehicles. This is worrying the Balochi population in the state. Sardar Akhtar Maingal of the Balochistan National Movement, who is also the opposition leader here, introduced a resolution in the

assembly the other day demanding banning the use of the "Pashtunkhawah Suba" term. During the discussion on this resolution, the Assembly divided into Baloch and Pashtun members. The Pashtunkhawah Milli Awami Party, which has joined the coalition government here, strongly opposed this resolution, and its members including four cabinet members who walked out in protest when the resolution was passed.

Divided Province

94AS0374C Karachi AMN in Urdu 28 Jun 94 p 8

[News Report: "The Disputed Balochistan Region Will be Soon Divided—"]

[Text] Quetta, 24 June (AMN News)—Mr. Rafiq Pashtun, central Leader of the Six-point Pashtun National Movement, said that this movement will be successful soon that "we will be able to divide the disputed area and form our own separate state called Southern Pashtunkhawah." He was addressing a meeting of the party workers at the residence of Alim Shah Pashtun in Kakar Colony. He said that the honorable people of Kakar Colony are to be congratulated for accepting the six-point program and joining this movement to demand their rights. He said that the Pashtuns in "Southern Pashtunkhawah" were living worse than slaves. "All doors for employment to our youth have been closed and thousands of Pashtun youth are unemployed. Those in power have divided the job that belonged to Pashtun young men among the new settlers here. Those groups have been given 100 times more jobs than the proportion of their population. Those of us who support the six points of the Pashtun National Movement will not tolerate these extreme actions any more and these people will come out to fight soon. Then we will settle accounts with everyone." Rafiq Pashtun further said that all political parties are scared of the six-point program presented by the Pashtun National Movement and they do not wish our efforts to get our rights to be successful. "That is why they are taking off our flags and attacking our workers. For the last 45 years, the Pashtuns of Southern Pashtunkhawah have been deceived in the name of Islam, nationalism, progress, and Pakistan. Now, by the grace of Allah, the politics of honesty and right will be practiced in Southern Pashtunkhawah and the next representation will be of the poor. All the poor Pashtuns of Southern Pashtunkhawah understand the facts now and they will not be deceived again and nor will they be divided. All Pashtuns will be united and will not stop until they have taken their rights from the enemy [Balochis]. They will punish every agent of the enemy so that no one will betray the Pashtuns again." Abdullah Pashtun, joint secretary of the Nauabad Unit, also addressed this meeting briefly while the worship was led by Baz Mohammed Pashtun. Rehmat Allah Pashtun was the stage secretary. At this time, Rafiq Pashtun had the party workers who promised to support the six-point program pledge on the Quran. These party members included Alim Khan Pashtun, Mohammed Zai Pashtun,

Dost Mohammed Pashtun, Merajan Pashtun, Safaddar Pashtun, Bahadar Khan Pashtun, Sardar Mohammed Pashtun, Halim Khan Pashtun, and Naim Allah Roshal Pashtun.

Caution Urged on Afghan Policy

94AS0370A Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Jul 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Afghanistan: A Cautious Approach Is Needed"]

[Text] Afghanistan is Pakistan's brother Islamic country and we have long-standing cultural and historical ties with that country. Pakistan's help to the Afghan Mujahideen during Afghanistan's jihad forged strong ties of love and brotherhood between Pakistan and the Afghan people and authorities. Pakistan is naturally concerned over the continuing civil war and struggle for power in Afghanistan because the establishment of stability, peace and order in Afghanistan are defense and economic priorities for Pakistan; hence, Pakistan has tried its best to end the civil war among the different Afghan factions. Unfortunately, none of these efforts has succeeded to the extent of laying the foundation of a lasting peace in Afghanistan. The crisis in Afghanistan poses a complicated problem which Pakistan will have to solve with foresight and clever diplomacy. Pakistan should not be involved in the issue of how the Afghan leaders and people solve their internal problems; we should not become involved in such internal issues as to which is the legitimate Afghan government and which government has reached the end of its term. Any involvement on our part will only offend the various Afghan factions as can be seen by the Afghan government's statement. The situation can seriously affect Pakistan's special relations with Afghanistan. The soft corner for Pakistan which exists in the hearts of the Afghan people and leaders because of Pakistan's support and sacrifices during the Afghan jihad should not be destroyed. Of course, if the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Conference [OIC] or any other international organization should come to a decision, we would then be able to take a definite stand. The authorities should give serious attention to this sensitive issue and proceed with great caution.

Demand for Independent Kashmir Viewed With Dismay

94AS0370B Karachi JANG in Urdu 6 Jul 94 p 3

[Article by Nayar Zaidi: "The Kashmir Issue: A Startling Demand"]

[Text] Instead of joining Pakistan, do the people of Kashmir want the establishment of an independent state? This is the "solution" which is called the third option. On a long term basis, Kashmir is essential to Pakistan's defense. No country can afford to become emotional when its safety is concerned and prefer another's welfare over its own. If in accordance with this

principle, Pakistan will have to keep in mind its own interests, then it follows that India, the U.S., China and the people of Kashmir as well will have to keep their own interests in mind when seeking a solution of the Kashmir issue. I will here consider the U.S. as representing the interests of the West. There is no need to go into any detail regarding India's interests; the last 40 years have clearly shown what these interests are and if there are any individuals who still do not discern these interests, then this article alone will not be sufficient to "educate" them.

The need to write this article arose when, on June 30, during a meeting held in Washington to discuss the issue of human rights in Kashmir, Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fayi, the executive director of the Kashmiri American Council, made a startling demand. He urged the United States to arrange for talks among the different groups of Jammu and Kashmir, the negotiations to be held outside the subcontinent. He did not use the word secret but he did say that the meeting should not be publicized; that all groups, namely, All Parties Hurriyat Conference, the Kashmiri Pundits, Dogras, the Buddhist inhabitants of Ladakh and the "accepted" representatives of Azad Kashmir should take part in this conference. Dr. Fayi included Baltistan and Gilgit in Azad Kashmir.

For those who are not acquainted with the Kashmiri American Council, we should explain that this council was formed in Washington in 1989 with the aim of obtaining support in the U.S. for the Kashmir issue and the efforts of Kashmiris for the solution of this problem. The annual expenses of this council, which are one million dollars or somewhat more, are met by subscriptions from Kashmiri American doctors and other interested individuals. The council has hired a large lobbying firm at an annual cost of five or six hundred thousand dollars and since 1989, Dr. Fayi has been the power behind the council. Up to now, the council and individuals connected with it had maintained that the wishes and the participation of the people of Kashmir were essential to any proposed solution of the Kashmir problem. I thought that this suggestion was rather strange because the U.N. resolutions on Kashmir certainly did not imply that Pakistan and India could get together secretly and solve the Kashmir problem. Self-determination means that the wishes of the people have to be ascertained, by means of a referendum held under the supervision of the U.N. and without any interference by India or Pakistan.

However, the latest demand is for a meeting of the people of Kashmir. There could be no objection to that; but why are the Kashmiri Pundits and Dogras categorized separately? The movement for Pakistan started with the Muslims of India; the Muslim League emerged as a representative party and Qaid-I-Azam [Jinnah] became the leader by consensus. No one suggested then that the Sayeds of Amroha, the Ulema of Devband and Moghul families should be invited to participate. It was a Muslim movement and all Muslims participated in it.

Similarly, Kashmiris should participate in a Kashmiri movement. Why should the Pundits and Dogras be identified separately? Since Dr. Fayi advocates a democratic approach, it is necessary to ask him this question: Under which democratic procedure are the Kashmiri Pundits and Dogras to be regarded as deserving separate representation. In the entire Jammu and Kashmir area with a population of thirteen million, how many Pundits are there that they should be recognized as having a separate identity and therefore deserving separate representation?

Moreover, why is there this insistence on including Baltistan and Gilgit? These areas joined Pakistan when India was divided and they are not disputed territories. The Security Council resolutions on the self-determination of Jammu and Kashmir do not include these territories.

The readers should note that the slogan of an independent Kashmir was first raised by Pandit Nehru in 1951. In 1964, when Sheikh Abdullah visited president Ayub with this proposal in hand, Ayub asked him whether he wanted to free Kashmir or to enslave Pakistan. He asked the question because including Gilgit and Baltistan in an independent Kashmir would sever land routes connecting Pakistan to China.

Relations between India and China and Pakistan and the United States had deteriorated in 1964 and India had established relations with the U.S. After the Indian aggression against China in 1962, the U.S. thought of bringing India forward against China. By that time, relations had been established between Pakistan and China and the project of building a highway between the two countries had started.

It is in the interests of India and all other the enemies of Pakistan and China to sever the land link between Pakistan and China. Such a suggestion made by Indian prime minister Nehru thirty years ago is understandable; what is not understandable is why this suggestion is being put forward again by an organization of Kashmiri American Muslims. It is understood that Dogras and Pundits participating in any Kashmiri conference would represent Indian interests. One could understand if, at any future time, intense political pressure caused these individuals to be included in a conference under separate identities; but to suggest such a participation when there is no political pressure is to act against one's own best interests. Moreover, one should leave some issues open for negotiation. For example, if in the future there should be pressure to include Dogras and Pundits, one could agree reluctantly but demand some concession in return. But if one starts out by conceding to the other party's interests, there can be no give and take. All these suggestions that conferences and negotiations be held are in fact preparations for political conspiracies. After all, the so-called representatives of the people and not the people themselves take part in conferences and these representatives are more businessmen than delegates.

The sole objective of a Kashmiri movement should be to achieve the right of self-determination by means of a referendum held under the supervision of the U.N. and every adult Kashmiri, of whatever color, religion or race, should be allowed to vote his preference. This is the true democratic way.

To repeat an earlier point, all parties [to a dispute] have the right to keep their own interests in mind and it is in the interests of Pakistan that Jammu and Kashmir join Pakistan as they should have done at the time of the division of India or soon after as stated in the U.N. resolutions. However, if the people of Kashmir or their real or self-appointed representatives are of the view that the establishment of an independent Kashmir is in their interests, then this view also should be studied.

An independent Kashmir would be surrounded on all sides and would have to depend on India, Pakistan or China for links to the outside world. Is there any country in South Asia, the size of Kashmir, which is independent in the true sense of the word? India has already swallowed up Bhutan and Sikhim; Nepal and Sri Lanka live in India's frightening shadow. The Kashmiris might be able, at the most, to call upon the U.S. to protect their independence. However, countries rich in natural resources which have a contract with the U.S. to protect their independence are worse off than domestic servants. A servant can at least leave one employment and choose another but these countries not only cannot leave their employer but have to pay him wages as well.

India brought Hindus to live in Jammu as part of a deliberate scheme although large numbers of Hindus lived in Jammu earlier as well. These Hindus will either not join an independent Kashmir or, if they do so, will represent Indian interests. Their business interests will have the support of India and the U.S. and the doors of progress will be closed to Kashmiri Muslims as have been closed to Indian Muslims.

There is no guarantee that if they join Pakistan, the Kashmiris will be treated with the utmost justice. After all, Pakistan's provinces have their own complaints. But I think that the Muslims of Azad Kashmir are better off than the Muslims of occupied Kashmir.

The aim of India and the U. S. in starting the movement for an independent Kashmir is to create dissension in the movement of the people of Kashmir and thus destroy the people's movement. Once this objective is gained, they will turn their backs and the issue will retreat to where it was in 1948. Even if an independent Kashmir comes into being, it will either be controlled politically or through military aggression.

Did the people of Pakistan make sacrifices for ten years for the sake of Afghanistan so that Zahir Shah should again ascend the throne? Are the Kashmiri mujahedeen now being helped so that they should have the honor of sitting at the same table with the Pundits and Dogras or that Pakistan should be deprived of Gilgit, Baltistan and Azad Kashmir?

New Budget's Impact on Economy Analyzed

94AS0373A Karachi AKHBAR-E-JEHAN in Urdu
19 Jun 94 p 15

[Article by Najamul Hasan Ita: "Can the Proposed Budget Goals Be Achieved by a Shadow Economy?"]

[Text] It is a recognized fact that the area that came under Pakistani rule at the time of independence had very little industrialization. Except for Karachi's Dalmia Cement Factory, Layallpur's (Faisalabad) Sri Sri Ram Cotton Mills, and Mardan's Premier Sugar Mills, there were no factories worth mentioning here. These factories were owned by Hindu investors who left everything here at the time of partition. No government in the beginning thought that Pakistan should encourage investors at home and abroad for industrialization. None of the governments had the vision to establish an economic infrastructure. Pakistani rulers started their journey involved in a political tug-of-war and locked in conspiracies. This resulted in a series of military governments controlling our nation. These economic policies were based on U.S. aid, ad-hocism, and looting. The critical situation created by the centuries-old relationship of the landlord system and the semi-tribal administration could not be broken by any representative or military government. It is obvious that this archaic production system had vested interests in trade, shipping, finance, transports, and some mining along with the local and foreign investors. It is not surprising that the largest industrial organization of that time was Moghulpur Railway Workshop which was run by the government. Most of the Pakistani economy was controlled by landlords at the time of the partition. They took over all the markets and trade organizations left by the Hindu businessmen. As time passed, they extended their control over industries that depended on agriculture such as spinning mills, flour mills, rice cleaning mills, and transportation. They monopolized the rural economy. Some major landlords entered major industries and expanded their area of control.

The situation in our largest city, Karachi, was different. The persons coming from Bombay and other areas with backgrounds in investing and trade laid the foundation stones of banking and trade. However, national investing could not be started from the begining. Thus, the democratic and non-democratic governments in our country were controlled by landlords, military officers, and the bureaucracy. They had no information about building the future of our nation. Meanwhile, the conditions of millions of farmers and agricultural laborers was worse than even the industrial laborers. The agricultural reforms introduced by the controlling factions did not lay any foundation for real reform. Those who run the landlord system still play an important role in villages. The agricultural laws mostly benefitted the affluent landlords, while the farmers continued to live in abject poverty. The urban middle class always suffered from high prices, unemployment, and shortage of proper

living accommodations. Urban and rural intellectuals, poets, writers, especially the young, are frustrated by price increases and the lack of opportunities in science and the arts. A serious problem of unemployment among educated and skilled persons still persists. The reason for it is the low standard of industrial and economic growth. Against this background, an important ingredient has entered the Pakistani economy—governments have been increasing unproductive expenses very rapidly despite the \$47 billion foreign aid received during the last 40 years. The wrong economic policies of non-representative governments since 1977 have resulted in increasing budget deficits. The law and order situation also worsened because of our involvement in the Afghan war. This has resulted in the stopping of foreign investment in Pakistan, and even domestic investment in Sindh. Thus, increasing government expenses and unproductive spending has resulted in the serious problems of inflation and deficits. Our various governments borrowed 600 billion rupees from foreign banks during the last 17 years and the condition of banks is precarious because of economic maladministration. Investors and landlords have defaulted on loans worth 80 billion rupees. Still, the important people manage to avoid being caught by the law. As the result of all these events, we are sitting on the brink of economic destruction. I think it important to quote the Prophet of Allah about our situation since it reflects our problems. He had said, "The nations before you were destroyed because important persons who break laws were let go and the common people were punished." Within this framework, if the law and order situation in our country remained like this, our destruction is imminent.

Keeping all these facts in mind, it is easier to analyze the proposed budget. The question arises: "Is the present economy capable of attaining the proposed growth rate of 6.9 percent during the next fiscal year as the prime minister's economic managers, especially the treasury advisor V.A. Jaffery, predict? Keeping in mind the present situation, predictions of a 6.9 percent growth rate is not of usual nature. If we incorporate the rate of population growth, the per capita GDP rise will be only 3.9 percent. However, to get our country out of the difficult economic situation, the rate of growth should not be less than 7 percent so that poverty is reduced and the lowest per capita income in the world is increased.

If the government is successful in doing this, the troublesome economic conditions will be improved dramatically. If it is unsuccessful, the negative consequence of the discouraging progress of the last four years will also effect the next fiscal year's budget. If we reflect on this issue, the 1992-93 fiscal year was a dark year in the area of economy. The rate of GDP growth in that year, 2.8 percent, was less than the rate of population growth. This rate during the last year was 4 percent. We must have 7 percent growth during the next fiscal year.

The truth is that the former government had established the rate of growth for the 1992-93 fiscal year to be 6

percent which was an appropriate rate. However, because of some unavoidable reasons, the actual growth was hardly even 2.8 percent. The former government tried once again to attain a better rate of growth. Thus, Sartaj Aziz established goal to achieve a growth rate of 7.5 percent in June 1993. He was very optimistic about achieving this goal. However, the rate of growth was only 4 percent mostly because of the crisis in cotton production. If production of wheat was also below expectation, the rate of growth would have been negative. After looking at this situation, can we hope to achieve the proposed goal of attaining a 6.9 percent growth rate in the next fiscal year? If we look from the perspective of numbers, it is natural to expect better rates of growth after two years of lower growth rate, because the budget writers have made the lower rate of growth as their base when establishing the rate of growth for the next year. During the last six years, the average rate of growth has been in the negative except for the 1991-92 fiscal year when cotton production was unusual due to a natural miracle. It is the job of the experts to think that if after the continual lower rate of growth the economic crisis can or cannot be broken during the next fiscal year. In addition to this question, they have to know whether the present government thinks it necessary to take unusual steps. There are no indications of it so far. However, pleasing goals have been added after moving numbers around in the budget.

The budget developers have established the goal for cotton production to be 9.5 million bales. Similarly, the goal for wheat production is set at 16.9 million tons and the goal for industrial production at 6.9 percent. The government has established a goal for export to be 19 percent knowing well that despite the devaluation of the rupee the exports were reduced by 3.5 percent. As for imports, an increase of 10.7 percent has been proposed for the next fiscal year although international competition, decrease in the value of rupee political unrests and law and order situation here had resulted in 12.6 percent decrease in imports during the last fiscal year. It is definite that setting goals in each department is easy. However, achieving these goals, especially when the economy depends on agriculture, is very difficult. In a disappointing economic situation of any country, its bright points are exports. Our 60 percent exports depend on cotton, yarn, and cotton-based products. If the problems that our cotton production suffered because of a virus and administrative ineffectiveness during the last two years are not rectified during the next year, then all our goals will be affected and our hopes will be wiped out. The government has encouraged the farmers to increase crops by various means before it set goals to increase wheat production by 16.9 percent. It is hoped that the climate will be good so that the wheat production goal is achieved. However, the goal set for export needs scrutiny because Pakistan's export profile is very different than the export profiles of developed countries. Developed countries import raw materials and oil and after producing tools and other things based on these

imports, they export those with higher profits. Thus, their trade balance is not only in the positive, they also increases their foreign exchange reserves. At present Taiwan's foreign exchange surplus is \$84.2 billion, Singapore's \$40.8 billion, and Japan's \$105 billion. Compared to them, our exports depend on agricultural products instead of industrial products. The crisis in cotton production has been hurting our economy since last year. No acceptable solution has been proposed yet. However, the positive economic news is that sugar production was very good last year and it can be exported this year. The present government has imposed restriction on its exports so that too much export does not result in price increase.

The sugar mill owners have condemned the government policy and demanded that they be allowed to export sugar because the demand for sugar is higher than usual in the international market and they can get good price for it. The government is still adamant on its stand. During the budget session, A.V. Jaffery, prime minister's financial advisor, presented a new formula for cotton. He said, "If Japan and other countries in East Asia are successful in importing cotton and then exporting textiles, then why cannot we, especially when the government has eliminated duties on importing cotton." This point is correct to an extent. However, what can we do about the fact that our textile industry despite buying cotton at lower rates and paying low wages to laborers has failed in establishing its credibility in international markets. The present plight is that our textile industry is sick even though this industry pays very little taxes and the owners of this industry always seek economic incentives and subsidies. The reason for their failure at the international level is that the textile owners are satisfied producing lower quality yarn resulting in export of low quality textile products. Any price offered at the international level is accepted as a blessing. Can Mr. Jaffery's formula be implemented knowing this attitude of the textile industry? Therefore, the proposed goal of increasing exports by 19 percent appears to be futile against this background. It is true that India achieved its goal of increasing exports by 20 percent in 1993-94 and earned \$22 million in foreign exchange. Despite this major achievement, Indian budget developers have set less than 15 percent increase in exports for the 1994-95 fiscal year.

The proposed goal of increasing exports by 19 percent during the next fiscal years means a total of \$8 billion (it is set at \$12 billion because of exchange rate). We can achieve this goal only if we produce 10 million bales of cotton in any condition. Otherwise, the goal for exports cannot be met. The second reason is that international competition has reduced demand for Pakistani products. Prices of rice, leather, and rugs have fallen considerably, however, exports have not risen. It is possible that the cotton harvest will be greater next year, however, only if the government and the producers have good relations. It is important that seeds and pesticides be made available and those who sell old, adulterated chemicals are

given strict penalties. In addition, loans should be issued at low interest rates. A look at the proposed goals of the budget show that the government is too interested in the area of imports. It has set 10.7 percent goal for imports for the next fiscal year because 40 percent of its revenue comes from imports. Now we have to see what kind of situation is created with the implementation of free trade policies, reduction in import duties, and 12.6 percent reduction in imports. As for reduction in imports, it included the effect of the continuing devaluation of the rupee and increase in import duties. It is not possible to make any forecast with the free trade policy. If we achieve the goal of increasing exports by 19 percent during the next year, we should expect increase in imports. This increase will be proportional to the 10.7 percent increase. It would be premature, but we can forecast that the reduction in tariff will effect increase in import of consumer goods. Which will hurt our domestic industrial production. Thus, the goal of increasing industrial production by 6.9 percent during the next year will become difficult to achieve.

The budget developers estimate inflation to be about 7 percent next year which is 10.5 percent during the current year and was 8 percent last year. These inflation figures are from the government which the non-government experts do not accept. Increasing production is an effective weapon to control inflation, therefore, we have to see how far the goals that are set for industrial and agricultural production in the budget are achieved. Keeping in view such possibilities as additional expenses on subsidies for grains and increase in prices of petrol and natural gas, it appears that the budget developers' forecast of inflation rate at 7 percent is too low. One thing is definite. The goals included in the 1994-95 budget will be achieved solely by government's policies. We have to see how the government adjusts its policies with the stated demands and changes in the international market. The government can have a pleasant influence on the landlords and investors by reducing interest rates. Similarly, a new labor policy is needed for better relations between the industrialists and laborers. It is more important now for the success of this budget that bureaucracy and expenses are controlled. Another important aspect is the disarray of figures in the area of balanced economy. According to Dr. Mehbubul Haq's estimate, the drug mafia's shadow economy is composed of 700 billion rupees. The trade that is not accounted for causes downfall in Pakistani government's revenue at a large scale. That is why it is not possible for the budget developers to estimate inflation rate.

According to the UN International Drug Control Committee, Pakistan's "shadow economy" is worth about \$12 billion. Such an economic atmosphere is very dangerous and it must be controlled. According to Pakistan's economic development cell, goods worth \$3.3 billion or 100 billion rupees are smuggled into the country through the southwestern and northwestern borders. According to recent figures, illegal trade worth \$3 to \$4 billion is carried out right in front of government officials

because of the Afghan influx. The Central Bureau of Revenue [CBR] chief himself admits that the government loses revenue to the tune of 10 billion rupees because of Afghan transits. If effective steps are not taken in this direction, the government plans will be further hurt. Smuggling is on the rise now and it includes all kinds of consumer goods. Ceramic goods, tires, tubes, spare automobile parts, cosmetics, ready-made clothes, cheese, blankets, cigarettes, color films, fabrics and electronic goods need special mention in this context. Wheat, ghee, rice, and sugar are smuggled abroad and the foreign exchange is kept in other countries so that it can be used for illegal trade.

Looking at this whole scenario, it appears that the government must take the measures mentioned above to make the budget year successful. To this end, announcements about being strict and taking revolutionary steps should be made soon. Otherwise, even the 50 percent chance that the 1994-95 budget will be successful will disappear.

Former Finance Minister Criticizes New Taxes

94AS0372A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 23 Jun 94 p 11

[Interview with former Finance Minister Sirtaj Aziz by Irfan Siddiqui; place and date not given]

[Text] Senator Sirtaj Aziz has established himself as a veteran parliamentarian who has full authority over his subject and does not give up when presenting an issue with full force. He is spending a lot of time in administration and political affairs as the secretary general of the Muslim League. However, economy is still his area of specialty. As the finance minister during the Nawaz Sharif era, he showed his ability to form and implement economic policies and avoiding the subterfuges of the bureaucracy. This is the first comprehensive commentary on Benazir government's recent action with by Sirtaj Aziz.

[Siddiqui] Madam Benazir Bhutto in her speech and later the finance minister in his budget speech have accused that since Quaid-i Azam no government had borrowed so much from the banks as did the Nawaz Sharif government. Will you please throw some light on it as the finance minister of that government?

[Aziz] It is amazing that Madam Bhutto and her finance minister spent their whole energy in throwing mud at the Muslim League [PML-N] government instead of explaining their achievements and developmental plans. This is a negative and defeatist attitude. If I respond to you in detail then this mud can be washed out. This is purely a technical issue. What happens is that the government borrows internally and externally to run the daily affairs. Internal loans are taken from banks and other sources. We call the other sources "non-banking borrowing." Every government depends on bank loans and non-banking borrowing. When our government

[PML-N] was formed in 1990, a major source of non-banking borrowing, the deposit scheme, was gone. The governments before us had depended on this non-banking source for many years. During our three year rule, we had to depend heavily on banks because of the closure of this source of loans and there was no non-banking borrowing. It is assumed generally that a government borrows 30 to 50 billion rupees from non-banking sources. The Pakistan People's Party [PPP] government claims that it has borrowed only 20 billion rupees from banks while we borrowed 72 billion rupees in 28 months. They do not even mention 40-50 billion rupee loans that they have taken from non-banking sources. The external debts of this government are much higher than ours. They are openly making erroneous statements and think that the people lack intelligence and will trust them with their eyes closed.

[Siddiqui] The Benazir government had also claimed when introducing the budget that the national income fell considerably during your administration and this situation has significantly improved during their administration.

[Aziz] This is a wrong and baseless accusation. The people have claimed that the rate of growth has been 6 percent during the last 40 years and it fell to 2.28 percent during the Nawaz Sharif era. First, the government is presenting contradictory figures. When Benazir's government was formed, the reports issued in November 1993 show growth rate during the last year of our government to be 3 percent. Now this rate has suddenly gone down to 2.28 percent. It shows that the government changes figures at will. The actual situation is that the rate of growth during Benazir's former administration was 4.6 percent and when we took over in 1990, we increased this rate to 5.6 percent by long-range economic planning and financial discipline. In 1991-92, there was a record increase in the rate of national growth which went up to 7.7 percent. This is the best rate of growth during any government. In 1992-93, we had to face the worst floods and in the beginning of 1993, and the cooperation of Ghulam Ishaq Khan and Benazir Bhutto caused such a vacuum that hurt every sphere of our national life including that of economy. The Balakh Sheikh Mazari government established in April was actually a PPP government. Farooq Ahmed Leghari, the present president, was its finance minister. If these changes were not occurred, our rate of growth would have surpassed 7.7 percent. Had we had the opportunity to finish our term, Pakistan would have been one of the countries where the rate of growth reached more than 9 or 10 percent. The 3.3 percent growth in 1992-93 actually resulted from the actions of the PPP. Still, if the growth rate during our administration is averaged, the national growth rate would be 5 percent which is much better than the PPP administration's rate.

[Siddiqui] The finance minister has accused your administration of not showing efficiency in collecting taxes.

[Aziz] Since the PPP does not believe in any standard of morality, it has lied openly here also. During Benazir's former administration the tax collection in 1988-89 was 119 billion rupees. This amount increased to 180 billion rupees during Mian Nawaz Sharif's era. If you pay attention to the rate of this increase then it is at least 50 percent. This is not an ordinary achievement during the short period of 2.5 years. Making empty claims is something else. Getting concrete results with solid actions is a very difficult job. I challenge the PPP to increase this amount by 50 percent during the next three years.

[Siddiqui] The government accuses all the time that it inherited load-shedding. The finance minister has also accused your government of it. Is it really the result of your policies?

[Aziz] When a government is not capable of efficient performance and has nothing to give to the people, it depends on such negative propaganda and tries to avoid responsibility by finding faults with others. These people try to hide their inefficiency behind the curtain of our performance. However, the people of Pakistan are intelligent and understand such dramas very well. Who can deny the fact that our administration during its brief period had increased the power supply by 60 percent by installing new units. This had increased power production by 1300 kilowatts. What have these people done? The cabinet committee for electric power formed during Nawaz Sharif government had developed a new policy for power on 12 February 1992. A surprising and baffling step the government is taking is the decision to buy power from private industrialists at two rupees per unit. This will help the investor make 35 percent profit and the rate of electricity will increase by 50 percent by the time it reaches the consumer. I need to be told what wisdom there is in this act and what kind of plan is this in a situation when the electricity at Tribela is being produced at seven paisa per unit and the thermal power is generated at one rupee per unit. The price of gas is also increased. If these policies continued, the unbearable cost of power will break the back of our industries. Even thinking about its effect on the average man scares me. I want to get your attention to prime minister's so-called Karachi package that is being discussed widely. The 121 billion rupee package that Benazir Bhutto has announced also includes the under-construction projects that were begun during our administration. Actually, 80-85 percent of the projects included in it were started during Nawaz Sharif's era. You will recall that Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif had promised in December 1990 to give 17 billion rupees, and now the PPP government is throwing dust in the eyes of the people and claiming to own all this projects. The people in Karachi are educated and intelligent and understand the real situation. I myself had laid the foundation stone for the Hub Project in September 1992. The plan for mass transit being implemented now was also introduced by our administration.

[Siddiqui] The government claims that it will give special attention to the infrastructure that was ignored during Nawaz Sharif's government. What is your reaction to it?

[Aziz] This is a blatant lie. The whole budget speech is cheap politics and a package of lies containing wrong facts and figures. They should tell us what they did about infrastructure during their 8 months in power. They do not have any concrete and effective plan yet. Our government was moving forward keeping the demands of modern times in mind. We knew that until the infrastructure is strengthened, our nation cannot compete in the real progress. That is why we gave special attention to this department. The total number of telephone connections in our country was 900,000 when our administration began. In other words, during the 43 years between 1947 and 1990, only 900,000 telephones were installed. During the 28 months of Nawaz Sharif's administration, 700,000 new connections were issued despite the negative role of the opposition, artificial scarcities, and all the crises and the total number was brought to 1.6 million. In other words, we increased this area by 80 percent. We developed the telecommunication department so much that we could promise a connection within 24 hours to the consumers. The Benazir budget promised 200,000 new telephone connections in 1994-95 even though we had already erected the structure of all the basic facilities. Perhaps this government is embarrassed to tell that Nawaz Sharif had provided 350,000 phone connections in one year. Similarly, we had appropriated 14 billion rupees for building motorways and roads. The world is moving forward and in the "benazir" [unique] era of Benazir, this amount was reduced to 8 billion rupees. When we took over the government, the Water and Power Development Authority [WAPDA] budget was 12 billion rupees and we increased it to 23 billion and then to 27 billion rupees. We increased electricity power generation from 6,000 megawatts to 10,000 megawatts. The present government should inform us about its actions or compare itself with our administration. All this government has learned is rolling back and it is rolling back all our projects. Political opposition has taken them to the verge of anti-nationalism. They have distorted the great national projects just because these were started by Nawaz Sharif. We did not mind if she named the motorway Benazir Highway. The problem is that these people have no long-range plans or a determination for planning. All work is being done on ad-hoc basis. The IMF and the World Bank are their economic bosses and the present budget is based on their dictation. Every line in the budget shows how the government has knelt down before them. We were also under great pressure, but we kept the demands of our national economy in mind and did not compromise our interests. We remained adamant in front of the IMF and told it that we could not ruin the people of our nation. The Benazir government has signed a blank check with its eyes closed. Bringing down the deficit to four percent means crushing the people under taxes and depriving the

people with limited income of two meals a day. If we had the government, we would not have agreed to less than 5 percent at any cost. The result of this government's action will be unchecked increase in inflation which will cause a strong wave of price increase.

[Siddiqui] Mr. Sirtaj Aziz, will the people be able to bear this great weight of taxes?

[Aziz] This is too much. No Pakistani government ever imposed taxes worth 40 billion rupees. Experts believe that the real amount of these taxes will be more than 50 billion rupees. The credit to this anti-national activity goes to this government elected by the people. The budget is loaded with taxes. It is estimated that they will collect 18 billion rupees from sales tax, 7.5 billion rupees from excise tax, and 13 billion rupees from custom duties. Every factory will have to pay tax on any item with a retail price of more than 1.5 million rupees. This burden will also fall on the consumer. The people will also suffer from the sales tax imposed on 277 items. Even after all these efforts the budget deficit is not reduced according to the IMF requirements. They said that 1.75 billion rupees will be recovered by collecting back taxes. I had talked about recovering 4 billion rupees in tax arrears, however, despite all our efforts, only 2 billion rupees could be collected. The claim to collect 1.75 billion rupees can be nothing but a political slogan; there is no practical reason for it. This will cause such a flood of price increases that no one will be able to stop it. During Mian Nawaz Sharif's 28 months, the rate of price increases of consumer goods was only 15.72 percent while the prices have increased 20.8 percent during Benazir's 8 months in the office. We cannot even imagine what the rate will be in the future. We will not be able to get even clothes to cover our bodies. You consider it yourself. How can you reduce the budget deficit by four percent when there is depression, crops are destroyed, there is a dry year, industries are suffering, and the growth rate is slow? How fair is it to grind the people in the grinder of high prices just to meet a target?

[Siddiqui] After all, the government must have some reason for imposing such heavy taxes.

[Aziz] All this is being done because of obedience to the IMF. We had told the IMF clearly that we could not reduce the budget deficit to less than five percent at any rate. We had made an agreement about it which was signed on 22 April 1993 in Paris, and [Former President] Ghulam Ishaq Khan had dismissed our government on 18 April. We had told the IMF that we could not ignore the infrastructure and developmental projects. The growth rate would increase with industrial progress and the increase in the growth rate will decrease the deficit. Moeen Qureshi promised to reduce the budget deficit by 4 percent as soon as he took office and Benazir signed the agreement. To reduce the budget deficit from 6 to 4 percent suddenly, they have to levy taxes to raise 32 billion rupees. Had the government agreed to bring the deficit down to 5 percent, the new taxes would be only

for 16 billion rupees which could have been done easily. I am afraid that the goal to bring down the budget deficit to 4 percent will not be achieved. Instead, inflation will increase, industrial production and investments will come to a standstill, and our economy will get a serious jolt. They are only creating confusion by playing with figures now and are hoping that the people will not learn about it. However, they know when money is taken out of their pockets. As Mian Nawaz Sharif had said that wrong policies reach the hearths in homes and yearning eyes.

[Siddiqui] On what basis are you claiming that industrial progress and investment will halt?

[Aziz] I said that because this government has no equal in making absurd and unreasonable decisions. During the 70s Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto had seriously hurt Pakistan's industrial progress by his nationalization steps. The nation is still suffering from its results. Benazir is also following this route. You notice that the fertilizer industry was promised that the price of natural gas will not be increased for 10 years, but the 8 percent increase in natural gas prices is imposed on the fertilizer industry also. Similarly, Sarhad was given exemption from sales taxes until 1996 on industries started there. However, the government suddenly reduced this period to 30 June 1994. Such actions spread insecurity, the image of government is tainted, and industrial progress is negatively effected. If the industrialists lose their confidence once, it takes many years to stabilize industry.

[Siddiqui] How true is the government's claim that privileges of tax revenue collectors have been curtailed?

[Aziz] This is a white lie. The fact is to the contrary. The tax collecting staff have been given such privileges that all this will open a flood gate of corruption. Their privileges have been increased a lot. When we felt that the tax collecting staff was corrupt, we encouraged fixed tax and payment of taxes according to capacity. When we started fixed taxes as a pilot, we increased tax collection from 15 billion to 42 billion rupees. Thus tax collection increased from 15 percent to 23 percent. When an industry comes under the fixed tax system, tax rate can be reduced or increased by mutual agreement. This system decreases corruption. I had made this fundamental change in 1991-92 that if a tax-payer had objection to tax levy, he could appeal without paying one paisa. The decision on this appeal was to be given within 3 months in the first phase and within 6 months in the second phase. If a Central Bureau of Revenue [CBR] officer tells an industrialist that he will be taxed 20 million rupees, the industrialist has to deposit 25 percent of the tax or 5 million rupees, which will be tied up until the decision on the appeal is made. He will think that instead of tying up 5 million rupees and going through the appeal, it would be better to give a bribe of 2 million rupees. This will fill the pockets of tax collectors and not the government treasury. Let us look at another funny thing. The government has imposed restriction that

every person who pays income tax will have to file for wealth tax also. Last year, only 18,000 persons paid wealth tax while those paid income tax numbered 1.2 million. I do not understand how will they get forms for wealth tax from 1.2 million people and how will they be inspected? I would be better to decide on a level. For example, anyone paying 50,000 or 25,000 rupees in income tax should also file for wealth tax. What is the reason for filing wealth tax forms by those who paid only one or two thousand rupees in income tax?

[Siddiqui] What is your opinion about the steps to make the rupee fully convertible?

[Aziz] This is just a drama. The rupee was already 90 percent convertible. We are waiting for more details. However, I believe that this decision will devalue the rupee by an additional 4 percent.

[Siddiqui] The government has increased salaries of military and civilian personnel, however, the pensioners are kept fully out. Please comment on this.

[Aziz] The Pay and Pension Commission was established during our administration and is so called because we wanted to increase pensions along with salaries. It never happened in the history of Pakistan when salaries were increased but the pensions were not. This is not only an injustice but a monstrosity. This gives an indication of the present government's support for the people and the poor. You look at it yourself. The prime minister who has imported a duty-free Mercedes for herself has not exempted the bicycle needed by the poor. The excise duty on the cigarettes that goes to the Prime Minister House and the President House has been

removed, and the pension of old people has not been increased even by one penny. According to my source, the Commission had recommended 35 percent increase in pensions also, but Benazir had rejected it. Perhaps, because the old pensioners cannot come into the streets to demonstrate. I believe that the burden of increase in pensions is not even one-fifth of the increase in salaries. The opposition leader had raised his voice in the Assembly for the pensioners. We will force the government to kneel down in this issue.

[Siddiqui] You are also the secretary general of the Muslim League. Is the Muslim League planning to campaign against this budget?

[Aziz] I think the people's reaction will be so strong that no protest movement will be needed. The government will not be able to reduce the deficit despite its loud slogans and its claims will prove wrong the next year also because the weight of direct taxes is too much. There is also the danger of serious industrial crisis. Factories will be closed, unemployment will rise, and the graph of price increases will go up. This will increase the unrest among the people. We do not want to use this situation for our political interests. We are distressed that this government does not have the ability to follow the policies that had put the nation on the path to progress during the Nawaz Sharif era. These people, in the name of reducing budget deficit, are following the route that will take to economic ruin. The Pakistan of 1992 was the one rising on the horizon of progress and prosperity. The Benazir government has reduced the trust of foreign investors by rolling back the projects. This trust perhaps will never be regained.

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